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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF LUPERCIO LEONARDO DE ARGENSOLA

OTIS HOWARD GREEN

A THESIS

IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
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FOREWORD

The present study is based on published material available to date and also on documents obtained by the author in the archives of the Universities of Salamanca and of Huesca, of the Diputación Provincial at Saragossa, and of the Corona de Aragón at Barcelona; in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid and in the libraries of the Real Academia de la Historia and of the Duque de Luna, in the same city. Lack of time abroad made it impossible to contine the search in the municipal archives of Saragossa and Barbastro and in the State archives at Naples. The picture presented must therefore remain incomplete until new source material is made accessible.

Many friends, both in this country and in Spain, have helped in the preparation of this little book. The author wishes to express his thanks especially to Dr. J. P. W. Crawford for suggesting the subject and for constant direction and assistance; to D. Juan Larrauri of Salamanca, D. Ricardo del Arco of Huesca, D. Luis Colomina and D. Pascual Galbe, both of Saragossa, for their courtesy in facilitating investigations in their respective archives; and to Dr. Hugo A. Rennert and Dr. Miguel Romera-Navarro for their careful reading both of the manuscript and of the proofs.

TO MY WIFE

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I

Family

"Es la familia de Argensola una de las que más ilustran a Cataluña por su antigüedad, en nobleza, i vasallos." These are the words of don Miguel Leonardo de Albión, grandson of the poet Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, in a petition addressed to Philip IV.[1] No less distinguished were the Leonardos, who had had a record of distinguished service in Italy and Spain since the thirteenth century. Giuliano Leonardo was sent by the cities of Faenza and Bologna in 1238 as their ambassador to James the Conqueror; Ponze Leonardo in the early fourteenth century was in the service of King Robert of Naples; Andrea Leonardo served that King in 1332 and 1335 in the Piedmont wars; and the heroic traditions set by these men were carried on by "muchos caualleros deste apellido i familia que salieron de la ciudad de Ravena, donde tenían su origen i solar, señalándose en armas i en letras."[2]

Pedro Leonardo, the great-grandfather of Lupercio, came to Spain, took up his residence in the Aragonese city of Barbastro, and aided Ferdinand the Catholic in the conquest of Granada with troops maintained at his own expense.[3] Juan Leonardo, Lupercio's grandfather, a Doctor in canon and civil law[4], was "uno de los gentilhombres del ilustríssimo don Iuan de Aragón i Nauarra, Obispo de Huesca, Jaca i Barbastro, hijo del sereníssimo don Carlos, Príncipe de Viana."[5] His son, also named Juan, became Secretary to Maximilian II, who in the absence of Charles V and of Prince Philip was in charge of the government in Spain.

This Juan Leonardo married doña Aldonza Tudela de Argen-

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[1] Real Academia de la Historia, *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 110 ff. This ms. is a collection of papers entitled *De los cronistas de Aragón.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Latassa, *Bibliotecas antigua y nueva de escritores aragoneses*, Saragossa, 1884, Vol. I, p. 139.

[4] Real Academia de la Historia, *Ms. H, 24: Elogios de los chronistas de Aragón*, by Juan Francisco Andrés de Ustarroz, Chapter XIII.

[5] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 110.

sola, whose family was, in the words of the Duque de Villahermosa, "de calificada nobleza en Cataluña."[6] In the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona) are numerous letters of Charles V, Philip II and Philip III, granting to various members of this family rewards in money and lands for their services to the Crown. One example will suffice. At the end of a long document the Latin Secretary puts the following note in Castilian for His Majesty's greater convenience:

> Vuestra Magestad haze merced a don Gerónimo de Argensola, Portantveces de General Gouernador del Principado de Cataluña, de seiscientos ducados de renta sobre la Baylía general de Cathaluña para durante la mera voluntad de Vuestra Magestad, attento que dexa el officio con el salario y emolumentos dél.[7]

Of this marriage of Juan Leonardo and Aldonza de Argensola were born four children: Lupercio, Bartolomé[8], Pedro and Ana María. The first two must be mentioned together in any history of Spain's Golden Age; Pedro became an Augustinian friar,[9] and of him it is said in the records of the Order:

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[6] D. Marcelino de Aragón Azlor y Fernández de Córdoba, Duque de Villahermosa, Conde Duque de Luna, *Obras*, Madrid, 1894, p. 9. The Leonardos were of lesser rank. They belonged to the class of *infanzones* (corresponding to the Castilian *hidalgos*), and were inferior to the *caballeros* and to the *ricos-hombres*, or nobles *par excellence*. All of these possessed fiefs, castles and vassals, and administered justice in their domains. Only *infanzones* could be raised to the rank of *caballero*, using thereafter the title *don*. This honor was conferred (June 15, 1631) on Gabriel Leonardo de Albión, son of Lupercio Leonardo, "con atendencia de ser Infanzón y traer su origen del antiguo linaje de los Leonardos de la ciudad de Ravena, y en consideración de los servicios de su padre." Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 24*, Chap. XIII. Cf. *Hist. de las alteraciones de Aragón en el reinado de Felipe Segundo*, por el Marqués de Pidal, Madrid, 1862, Vol. I, p. 24 ff., and the *Rúbrica* of the *Libro de actos comunes del año 1630*, Ms. 400 of the Archivo de la Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, where we read: "Presentación de decisorios y armamento de cauallero de don Gabriel Leonardo para ser insaculado" (the corresponding pages are missing from the body of the ms.).

[7] Granted by Philip III in 1604. *Registro 4889*, fol. 270 ff.

[8] Baptized Aug. 26, 1562. Certificate published by Miguel Mir, p. XXXVIII of his introduction to Bartolomé Leonardo's *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Saragossa, 1891.

[9] He took the final vows in the Convent of St. Augustine in Saragossa on Feb. 22, 1589. Cf. Padre Gregorio de Santiago, *Ensayo de una biblioteca iberoamericana de la Orden de S. Agustín*, Vol. I, p. 202.

Fué varón ejemplar y docto: en el año 1598 predicó la Cuaresma en Épila. Poco después se pasó a las Indias, a los reinos del Perú: en el año 1607 en 23 de Julio le hicieron Provincial del Nuevo reino de Granada en el Convento de Santa Fe.[10]

Before leaving Spain he taught theology in the convent of St. Augustine in Valencia[11] and in Salamanca,[12] and preached in Medina del Campo.[13] In addition to some works on theology he wrote poems in Latin and in Castilian, some Latin distichs having been published in the *Relación de las fiestas de San Jacinto.*[14]

Ana María married Dr. Jusepe Trillo, who was born in Barbastro in 1564, and who was a fellow student of Lupercio and Bartolomé at the University of Huesca and perhaps of Bartolomé at Salamanca.[15] In 1607 he was *Abogado del Reino*[16] and was appointed by the King as *Juez extraordinario de la Corte del Sr. Justicia de Aragón.*[17] He was *Jurado tercero* of Saragossa in 1618[18] and at one time Deputy.[19]

All four children were joined together by ties of closest affection. Lupercio gives expression to this affection in the *tercetos*[20] which he addressed to Bartolomé at the time his two brothers were taking up their duties in Villahermosa and Valencia respectively. Bartolomé always refers with pride to the achievements of fray Pedro. He was most closely attached, however, to his

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[10] Padre Gregorio de Santiago, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[11] Letter of Bartolomé Leonardo to Dr. Bartolomé Llorente, Prior of the Church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar of Saragossa, published by the Conde de la Viñaza in the Appendix (section 190, letter 12) to his *Discurso leído ante S. M. el Rey Don Alfonso XIII, presidiendo la Real Academia de la Historia, en la recepción pública del Excmo. Sr. Conde de la Viñaza*, Madrid, 1904.

[12] *Ibid.*, letter 26.

[13] *Ibid.*, letters 26 and 28.

[14] *Relación de la fiesta qve se ha hecho en el convento de Santo Domingo de la Ciudad de Çaragoça a la Canonización de San Hyacintho* (compiled by Jerónimo Martel), Saragossa, 1595. Cf. P. Salvá y Mallén, *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá*, Valencia, 1872, Vol. I, num. 284.

[15] Univ. of Salamanca, *Libro de matrículas de 1585-1586* (*Cánones*).

[16] Archivo de la Diputación de Zaragoza, *Ms. 309*, fol. 18.

[17] *Ibid.*, fol. 135.

[18] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 24*, Chap. XIII.

[19] J. A. Pellicer, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de traductores españoles*, Madrid, 1778, p. 1.

[20] Pages 17–20 of the first volume of the *Obras sueltas de Lupercio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, coleccionadas e ilustradas por el Conde de la Viñaza*, Madrid, 1889. This collection will be referred to hereafter as *Obras sueltas.*

older brother. We find him following in the footsteps of Lupercio in nearly all the phases of his career; interested in the same lines of historical investigation; taking up with him the study of Arabic; and cultivating the same poetic forms with a community of thought and taste so great that it constitutes a real difficulty in the attribution of poems to one brother or the other. Bartolomé in his will[21] made ample provision for his sister, "por quanto yo amo mucho a la dicha Ana María," and in the same paragraph he remembers his brother-in-law, "porque sé que me ama mucho el dicho Doctor Jusepe Trillo. . ., y yo también lo amo con mucha ternura, y como a hermano proprio."

The foregoing facts make clear the unusual advantages with which Lupercio Leonardo was born into the world. From over ten generations of distinguished forebears he received not only his intellectual endowment but also a financial independence and official connections through which he was able to rise to positions of wide influence and to enjoy, as few men of letters then could, the amenities of life.

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[21] Published by M. Mir, *op. cit.*, p. CXL ff.

II

Education

Lupercio Leonardo was baptized on December 14, 1559, in the parish church of Barbastro.[1] In none of his works is there a reference to his boyhood or early youth, and, until the year 1579, we are at present entirely without documents. Pellicer,[2] speaking of Lupercio, and following Andrés de Ustarroz[3], says:

> Su padre . . . le envió desde luego a la Universidad de Huesca . . . donde estudió filosofía y leyes. En ella asistía ya el año de 1579 como lo da a entender un grave soneto que compuso en sus tiernos años, en alabanza de la *Divina y varia poesía* del P. Fr. Jaime de Torres, Religioso Mercenario.[4]

D. José Sanz de Larrea, in the *Libro ceremonial o Lucero literario de la Sertoriana Universidad de la Ciudad de Huesca*, prepared in 1789 and published for the first time by D. Ricardo del Arco in the first volume of his *Memorias de la Universidad de Huesca*,[5] places the Argensolas among the *Varones ilustres de la Sertoriana Universidad*, with these words:

> Los dos célebres hermanos, gloria de la nación, Lupercio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, cursaron la filosofía con el célebre P. Fr. Jaime Torres; después la jurisprudencia, en la que el primero obtuvo el grado de bachiller, no habiendo obtenido después otro más; el segundo el de bachiller, licenciado y doctor. . .

Unfortunately the archives of the Universities of Huesca and Saragossa contain no documents bearing the name of either brother, and in regard to their education, tradition and con-

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[1] Certificate published p. CXXXVII of Mir's introduction to Bartolomé Leonardo's *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Saragossa, 1891.
[2] *Op cit.*, p. 2.
[3] *Elogios de los chronistas de Aragón*, Ms. cit., Ch. XIII.
[4] Huesca, 1579. A detailed description of this volume is given by the Conde de la Viñaza *Obras sueltas* Vol. II, pp. 391-392.
[5] *Colección de documentos para el estudio de la historia de Aragón*, Vol. VIII, pp. 85–240. See p. 223.

jecture have had full sway. It is possible, however, to determine the probability or improbability of the various statements that have been made.

There is no reason to question the assertion that the two Argensolas studied at Huesca. Andrés de Ustarroz was a friend of Lupercio's grandson, and, except for matters of detail, his testimony is good. It is natural that their father, Juan Leonardo, should have sent them there, for in the year 1574 he was one of the trustees of the University;[6] and the fact that Lupercio wrote a laudatory sonnet for the book of Torres in 1579 would indicate that he was at that time in attendance there. But there are very serious objections to our accepting the statement, so long current, that both brothers received degrees from Huesca[7].

The first of these objections is that while Sanz de Larrea copied into his *Libro ceremonial* such information as might shed lustre on the University, thus preserving many records whose originals are now lost, there is not in all the documents which he copied a single reference to the Argensolas.[8] His statement in regard to them contains one obvious error,[9] and since he gives no documentation, the most natural assumption is that the documents were

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[6] *Memorias de la U. de H.*, p. 178: Año 1574: "Consiliarios, Agustín Pillares, Juan Blasco, Juan Leonardo, etc."

[7] This idea has been so firmly established that the *Consejo de la Universidad* in 1788 passed the following resolution: "Lo hizo Consejo de mes y propuso que el célebre escritor D. Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola es Doctor e hijo de esta Universidad, y parece acrehedor a que para memoria se haga de él un retrato igual a los que están en el teatro; que el señor Rector tiene compuesto con el escultor que el marco será solo su costo veinte escudos y lo demás de la pintura o retrato. Está ya hecho. Y el Consejo resolvió que se haga también dicho marco en la forma que se ha propuesto, y se comisionó al Vice Rector para ello. Ex quibus, etc. Testes qui supra." Archivo de la Universidad de Huesca, Leg. 144, *Cuaderno de Sumas de Consejo, del año 1788.*

[8] He copies from the *Libros de grados* records of degrees conferred on persons now entirely forgotten; and we learn of the "célebre" fray Jaime de Torres, Mercenario, that he was granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts on May 30, 1578, and on July 15 of the following year, that of Bachelor of Theology. He may, indeed, have taught the Argensolas, who were students at Huesca in 1579, as claimed by Sanz de Larrea, p. 225: "El insigne Fr. Jaime de Torres, Mercenario, Maestro de los Argensolas." But here again we have to deal with an undocumented statement, which may be merely an inference drawn from the fact of the publication of Lupercio's sonnet in Torres' *Divina y varia poesía.* Torres was all but unknown to Nicolás Antonio: "Scripsisse dicitur *Divina y humana poesía.* Anno 1579, in 8."

[9] We know that Bartolomé did not receive the degree of *bachiller* from Huesca. Cf. *infra*, p. 13.

not there to be copied and that he, like Pellicer, followed Andrés de Ustarroz.

The second objection is that, unlike the *Libros de grados* of the University, the *Libros de tesorería* for this period are in good condition and give testimony which is entirely negative. Don Ricardo del Arco, Librarian and Archivist of Huesca, after going over the *Libro primero de tesorería* (1572–1583), made the following statement:

> No aparece ninguna mención de los derechos pagados al arca de la Universidad por grados ni de Lupercio ni de Bartolomé, no obstante registrarse todos los grados que se iban confiriendo, tanto de bachiller como de licenciado y doctor.[10]

The only possible conclusion is that neither brother received a degree from the University of Huesca.

This conclusion is supported also by the fact that both Lupercio and Bartolomé completed their education elsewhere. Bartolomé appears among the students of canon law at Salamanca during the sessions of 1581–1582, 1582–1583, and 1583–1584. From his first registration[11] it appears that he had already received the degree of *bachiller* from the *Estudio General* of Saragossa. The entry reads:

> Barme. Leonardo de Argensola, natural de çaragoça, a seis de junio, 1582 años. ba. (bachiller) por çarago.[a]

Lupercio, as we know from his own statement, studied at the University of Saragossa. In defense of his attitude toward the *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* of Zurita, he wrote:

> Algunos dellos [elogios de Zurita] trae el P. Andrés Schoto, eruditísimo

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[10] The period covered by this search was later extended by Sr. del Arco, also with negative result, in an effort to find a record of Bartolomé's Doctorate, which appears to have been granted after 1616 and before 1619, as is evident from his signatures.

[11] Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca, *Libro de matrículas de 1581 a 1582*, fol. 58 verso. This discovery was made by doña Blanca de los Ríos. See her book, *Del siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 131–134.

varón, cuyo discípulo me precio de haber sido en el tiempo que asistió en esta ciudad antes que entrase en la Compañía de Jesús.[12]

The time referred to was 1584. It is probable that as early as 1580, and before either Lupercio or Bartolomé was graduated from Huesca, Juan Leonardo brought his family from Barbastro to Saragossa, making the latter city his permanent home and transferring his two sons to the institution of higher education there established. Bartolomé, after receiving his first degree from the *Estudio General* (which in 1583 became the University of Saragossa), went on to Salamanca.[13] Lupercio remained at Saragossa, studying Greek, eloquence and Roman history under Schott.[14] It is reasonable to assume that he too received his Baccalaureate there.

It is thus seen that the facts with which we have to deal are largely negative. It is almost certain that neither Leonardo took a degree at Huesca. The records at Salamanca mention no degree granted to Bartolomé. The latter does not appear in documents as *Doctor* until after 1619. The *Libros de matrículas* and the *Libros de grados* of the University of Saragossa are not available for this period.[15] I offer the following as a mere conjecture: Lupercio and Bartolomé received their Baccalaureates from Saragossa. Bartolomé studied canon law at Salamanca, but when the *Estudio General* of his home city became in 1583 the Universidad de Zaragoza, he went there for his degree of

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[12] Pellicer, *Op. cit.*, p. 22. This P. Schoto was Andreas Schott, a distinguished Belgian scholar. Cf. *infra*, p. 21

[13] Cf. document published by Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, p. 409: "Señor. El Conde de Lemos por un memorial que ha dado en la Cámara dice que el licenciado Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, rector de Villahermosa, es aragonés, pero que se ha criado en Castilla la mayor parte de su vida y particularmente desde el año 1581 en Salamanca, donde prosiguió y *acabó* sus estudios. . . ." Does this word *acabó* mean that Bartolomé took his Licenciate at Salamanca? I think not. There is no record of it in the archive of the University. It seems to me, rather, that as the University of Saragossa in 1583 entered upon its period of greatest splendor, Bartolomé returned there to take his examinations.

[14] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Schott himself says that he taught these subjects. Cf. p. 28 of his *Hispaniae Bibliotheca, seu De Academiis ac Bibliothecis, item elogia et nomenclator clarorum Hispaniae Scriptorum, qui Latine disciplinas omnes illustrarunt. . . .* Frankfurt, 1608.

[15] M. Jiménez Catalán y J. Sinués y Urbiola, *Historia de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de Zaragoza*, Saragossa, 1923–1924, Vol. II, p. 106.

Licenciado. Some thirty-six years later he took his Doctorate, probably at Saragossa.

What was the cultural atmosphere of these two universities of Aragon, and what was their contribution to the character and the intellectual equipment of Lupercio Leonardo? In regard to Huesca, our information is less complete than we might desire. Andreas Schott, professor in the rival institution at Saragossa, is the first to give his testimony. In his *Academiarum Hispaniae Catalogus*[16] we read:

> Oscana in Aragoniae regno mirae vestustatis, *vt nulli hac in parte cedat.* Hanc enim referente Plutarco Sertorius ante Christi aduentum excitauit, vt Hispanam iuuentutem bonis illic litteris excolendam curaret.

The attempts to connect the University of Huesca with the school founded by Sertorius are not justified. The University dated from 1354, when it was founded by the King don Pedro *el Ceremonioso*. He commanded that in it be taught theology, the Bible, canon law, medicine and philosophy, and granted to its graduates equal privileges with those of Toulouse, Montpellier and Lérida. Until the time of the Catholic Sovereigns Huesca, together with the other universities of the Crown of Aragon, had a very precarious existence; but Ferdinand and his immediate successors increased its privileges and its material resources, and brought it to its period of greatest influence.

According to D. Ricardo del Arco,[17] the instruction given there in the sixteenth century was very complex and very wide in scope, and the classroom exercises were supplemented by debates held under the direction of the *pasantes*, or professors' substitutes, who were required to be doctors or licentiates. Three years were necessary to obtain a degree in Arts.[18] The entrance requirements consisted of a test in grammar and "latinity",[19] there being no admission by certificate.[20] The conferring of degrees was attended by the greatest strictness.[21]

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[16] *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*, p. 30.
[17] *Memorias de la U. de H.*, I, p. 25.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 23; II, p. 79.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

From the *Libro ceremonial* of Sanz de Larrea it is not possible to determine who were the teachers of Lupercio. For the year 1579 he copied:[22]

Gaspar Ram desde 29 Noviembre, 9 Junio 79 B.F. Catedráticos Sebastián La Raz; Pedro Lastanosa; Fr. Juan Villacampa; Alonso Pérez; Diego de Lanaja, y Ram.

Only Ram is mentioned in the *Bibliotecas* of Latassa (III,18 ff.). He taught arts and theology in Huesca, his alma mater, for eighteen years, and later became professor of theology in the University of Barcelona, returning finally to Huesca. He held many high ecclesiastical positions, and wrote numerous theological treatises.

For the year 1583 Sanz de Larrea[23] indicated the following

Catedráticos . . . cuyas cátedras vacan en 15 Marzo: Cánones, Canales, Adrián Amigo; Juan Miguel Olcina, Leyes; Tárrega; Sr. Gaspar Herrera, Theología. Electores, Juan Olivito, Juan Lanaprest, Juan Gascón, Tomás Cortés, Pedro Sanz, Maestro. Fr. Jaime Torres, Sub-Conservador. . . Francisco Almenar, de Monzón, B.L., es Rector de la Universidad.

Of this list only five, including Jaime de Torres, are to be found in Latassa. Canales (D. Juan) was "a good humanist and jurisconsult of Huesca" who held various positions of public trust under the Deputies of the Kingdom. Olcina was of relative unimportance. Cortés held high positions in the church and was Rector of the University in 1607. Gascón was *Maestro en Artes* in Alcalá and professor of philosophy in Huesca. He wrote *In Logicam sive Dialecticam Aristotelis Commentaria* (Huesca, 1570).

Among the distinguished alumni are three figures of the first rank:[24] Dr. Miguel Zurita de Alfaro, father of the famous historian, who received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1497 and served as physician to Ferdinand the Catholic, the Queen

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 222 ff.

doña Juana, and the Emperor Charles V; D. Pedro Cerbuna, who in 1583 reorganized the *Estudio General* of Saragossa, putting it on a plane with the best universities of Spain; and D. Bartolomé Llorente, Canon and Prior of the Church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar in Saragossa, life-long friend and correspondent of the Argensolas, and the successor of Lupercio as historiographer of the Kingdom of Aragon. His writings, chiefly on matters of ecclesiastical history, comprise twenty-seven titles. There should be added three names of second rank, in regard to whom biographical and bibliographical data may be found in Latassa: Felipe Puivecino, Juan Garay, Miguel Ferrer. A more complete list is given by Sanz.

Alumni such as these justify the statement of Schott in regard to the University of Huesca: "vt nulli hac in parte cedat." It was, in 1579, second to none in Aragon. It is interesting to note the content of the courses in arts, which Lupercio certainly pursued. In the *Memorias* (II, 105) we read:

> Al principio del curso se dará un compendio de lógica: luego algo de Porfirio y de Aristóteles. En el segundo y tercer año, diversos libros de Aristóteles. Estos cursos de Artes se interpretarán por un profesor de Filosofía.

And on page 90 of the same volume:

> En algunos días leerá [el Maestro Mayor] una lección de algún autor grave latino o griego; hasta la Cuaresma la Gramática de Clenardo, u otra, y la Construcción en un autor elegido con permiso del Rector.

On page 112:

> No permitirán los Maestros que los discípulos hablen, estando en el Estudio, sino en latín; castigándolos en caso de desobediencia, con azotes, *cuando lo sufriere la edad.* El tiempo de lectura será de cuatro horas por la mañana y otras cuatro por la tarde, con una de recreo intermedia. Los autores a propósito para leer, serán: para los de la clase de menores, fuera del Arte, los *Coloquios* de Vives, *Dísticos* de Catón, Miguel Verino, las *Selectas* de Cicerón, y las *Fábulas* de Esopo. Para medianos, los *Oficios* de Tulio, con los demás tratados que van con ellos impresos; sus *Epístolas*, y el Terencio expurgado. Para mayores, las *Oraciones* del mismo Tulio, y las *Epístolas* más

graves; poetas, Virgilio, Horacio y Marcial; historiadores, Salustio, César, Livio y Tácito. . . Los alumnos tendrán conclusiones, recitarán y representarán algunas de las comedias de Terencio y declamarán églogas y diálogos, con premio de 100 reales anuales repartidos entre los que más sobresalieren en esto.

Early in 1582 there came a break in the studies of Lupercio. At that time he went to Barcelona to meet his father who was returning to Spain in the entourage of Mary of Austria, widow of Maximilian II. The imperial party reached Barcelona on January 6, 1582,[25] and after stops of some length in that city, in Saragossa, Alcalá de Henares and El Pardo, continued to Madrid, where the Empress took up her residence with her daughter in the Convent of the Descalzas Reales. It was while on this journey that Lupercio wrote, from Lérida, the poetic epistle to D. Juan de Albión, beginning:

Aquí donde en Afranio y en Petreyo.[26]

This letter not only affords a clear view of the most characteristic side of Lupercio's poetic personality, as will be pointed out in a later chapter; it also is an index to the "profundos conocimientos de humanidades que sacó Lupercio de la Universidad de Huesca."[27] The inspiration of the poem is entirely Horatian —the Horace of the *Sermones* and of the *Ars Poetica*. There is in it a wealth of classical allusion which, except for the skill of the poet, would seem pedantic; and the whole shows that the author was thoroughly versed even in the minor details of ancient history, in ancient mythology, and in all the vast store of knowledge so dear to the men of the Renaissance. The young Lupercio was to study under more distinguished teachers than any he had yet had; but his education was already largely

[25] For an account of this journey see appendix 11 to the following book: *La Santa Duquesa, vida y virtudes de la venerable y excelentísima Señora doña Luisa de Borja y Aragón . . . por el R. P. Jaime Nonell . . .* Madrid, 1892.

[26] *Rimas de Lvpercio i del Dotor Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola*, Saragossa, 1634, p. 35. In the Index we read this note of the editor: "Esta carta se escrivió a Don Iuan de Albión desde Lérida . . . en la sazón en que vino de Alemaña la Serenissima Emperatriz María . . ."

[27] Duque de Villahermosa, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

acquired. In these *tercetos* to don Juan we have a monument to the "exactitud y rigor" of the faculty of the University of Huesca.

It is not known when or where Lupercio Leonardo resumed his studies. We have only his own statement that he studied in Saragossa under Schott, who began his duties there in 1584. At that time Saragossa stood at the beginning of a period of intellectual and literary activity, the splendor of which passed the limits of Aragon and extended throughout the whole of Spain.[28] From ancient times the city had had an *Estudio de Artes* which, however, granted only the degree of *bachiller*. In 1477 it was given the right to grant the degrees of *licenciado* and *maestro* in Arts. In 1555 Pope Paulus IV ratified a grant given by Charles V, authorizing the erection of a university in Saragossa which should give degrees in all departments. But as the King gave only the grant, and the Pope indicated no source of income, the university had an existence only on paper.[29]

That the old *Estudio* was of university grade is shown by the fact that in 1554 fray Pascual del Molinar, "bachiller en Artes hecho en Zaragoza," presented himself in Huesca and competed for the professorship in Arts in that University; and although some objected that he held no university degree, the Council agreed unanimously to accept him "aunque no está graduado en Universidad general."[30]

For years the citizens of Saragossa sought the means to make their university a reality, to the extent that the University of Huesca, realizing the danger of having a rival so near, in 1574 began to show that hostility which all but succeeded in killing the nascent institution. Desirous of raising the standard of the *Estudio*, the *Jurados* of Saragossa in 1575 called there the famous humanist Pedro Simón Abril.[31] It was from this *Estudio*

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[28] Miguel Mir, *loc. cit.*, p. XXVII.
[29] Jiménez and Sinués, *op. cit.*, I, p. 11.
[30] *Memorias de la U. de H.*, II, 20–21.
[31] Abril will be discussed among the professors of the University. Juan Lorenzo Palmireno also taught in the old *Estudio*, but before 1561. See H. Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia*, Toulouse, 1913, 250–254.

General that Bartolomé Leonardo received, before June 6, 1582, the degree of *bachiller:* "ba. por çarago[a]"[32]

The history of the University of Saragossa dates from 1583, in which year D. Pedro Cerbuna, Prior of the Santa Iglesia Metropolitana (La Seo) of Saragossa, at his own expense repaired the buildings of the old *Estudio* and founded the new University according to the charter granted some thirty years earlier, creating new chairs and gathering about him "un cuadro de catedráticos tan ilustre como lo pudiera tener la mejor universidad española."[33] All this was done with dictatorial powers exercised by the founder, who, in the face of the opposition of the enemies of the new institution and of the command of Philip II,[34] went ahead with his purpose, compelling those who opposed him to accept the University as a *fait accompli.* The story of the various suits brought by Huesca, alleging that the creation of the University was in violation of the *fueros* of the Kingdom; of the first decision, favorable to Huesca, handed down by a board of Catalan judges in Barcelona (1586); of the appeal and the second decision (1588), in favor of Saragossa, given by the *Real Audiencia* of the Kingdom of Aragon, may be read in the first volume of the history of the University by Jiménez and Sinués. What is of interest for the subject of this study is that Lupercio Leonardo studied in the University of Saragossa at a time when it was fighting for its existence, but when the force of Cerbuna's personality and the brilliancy of the new faculty had drawn students to the number of two thousand in 1584.[35]

Of the thirty-one professors appointed by the founder in the years 1583 and 1584, only the most outstanding figures can be discussed here. In theology there were fray Jerónimo Javierre, who after teaching some fourteen years in the University, was chosen by Philip III as his confessor and by Paulus V as Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church; and fray Pedro Malón de Chaide, author of the *Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena.* Lesser figures were Francisco Gayán, and fray Felipe Hernández de

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[32] See *supra*, p. 13.
[33] Jiménez and Sinués, *op. cit.*, I, p. 75.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Monreal. In Canon law were Dr. Martín Miravete de Blancas, formerly professor of law in the University of Lérida and holder of high legal honors in Aragon; Juan Rivas, attorney to His Majesty, and member of the illustrious *Colegio de Abogados* of Saragossa; and Juan Francisco Tarralba, later *Regente de la Cancillería de Aragón*; while civil law was represented, among others, by the famous Dr. Juan Costa, who held professorships at various times in the Universities of Barcelona, Salamanca, Huesca, Lérida and Valencia, and died as historiographer of the Kingdom.

Still more distinguished were the teachers of the humanities. Pedro Simón Abril translated the six comedies of Terence, the letters and orations of Cicero, a number of the dialogues of Plato, the Medea of Euripides, the Fables of Aesop and the complete works of Aristotle. In his *Ayuntamiento de cómo se deben reformar las doctrinas y la manera de enseñallas* he advocates clarity and simplicity in teaching and the abandonment of Latin as the language of the classroom. Above Abril stands out the great Belgian Schott. Born at Antwerp in 1552, he studied philosophy at Louvain, becoming later professor of rhetoric in the College du Château in that city. Because of the political disturbances in the Low Countries, he went to Douai in 1577, and from there to Paris. Having set out for Spain with letters from his father to persons in favor in the Court of Philip II, he reached Toledo at a time when the chair of Greek in the University happened to be vacant. He entered the public competition for the post, and after obtaining it filled it with such distinction that he was called by Cerbuna in 1584 to the chair of Greek and rhetoric in the University of Saragossa. In 1586 he entered the Jesuit order as the result of a vow, and was sent by his superiors to teach theology in the Jesuit Convent at Gandía, from which he went to the chair of rhetoric at Rome, and from there to his native city, where he died in 1629.[36]

Among the forty-seven works assigned to him are two of special interest to the student of Spanish bibliography and antiquities. His *Hispania illustrata, seu rerum urbiumque Hispaniae, Lusi-*

[36] *Biographie universelle* (Michaud), article *Schott.*

taniae, Aethiopiae et Indiae scriptores varii[37] is a rare and highly esteemed collection and his *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*, already cited, contains not only much valuable information in regard to the libraries and educational institutions of Spain, but furnishes the basis for a study of the state of culture in that country at the end of the sixteenth century.

On pages 11 and 12 of the second volume of their *Historia*, Jiménez and Sinués reproduce the roster of studies of the University of Saragossa for the year 1585. We read:

En Retórica, Latinidad y Griego: Desde las 8 hasta las 11 y desde las 2 hasta las 5 de la tarde, enseñarán 6 maestros, repartidos por sus clases, con grande ejercicio y erudición, porque en breve tiempo salgan muy aprovechados los oyentes: éstos son: El Maestro Andrés Escoto.—El Maestro Pedro Simón Abril.—El Maestro Berenguer.—El Maestro Mendoza.—El Maestro Lobera. —El Maestro Araciel.

In the classes of "el Maestro Andrés Escoto" sat Lupercio Leonardo. To them he refers with pride in the only reference which we have to his student days. In these classes, the atmosphere of which was tense with a sense of achievement in the face of obstacles, his education was completed and his character definitely formed.

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[37] Frankfurt, 1603–1608, 4 vols. Schott edited the first two only.

III

The Saragossa Stage

It was undoubtedly during his student days in Saragossa[1] that Lupercio Leonardo wrote the three tragedies, *Isabela*, *Filis*[2] and *Alejandra*, which were so warmly praised by Cervantes, and which, according to him, "brought more profit to the actors than the thirty best plays that have been written since."[3] The author of these plays was not named by Cervantes, and although Agustín de Rojas in his *Viaje entretenido*[4] speaks of a Lupercio as an author of tragedies, it was not until the publication, in 1772, of *Isabela* and *Alejandra* in the *Parnaso español* of López de Sedano[5] that they were known as the work of the elder Leonardo.

We are without definite information in regard to the date of composition and performance of these tragedies. Andrés de Ustarroz tells us[6] that

> el licenciado Martín Miguel Navarro,[7] canónigo de la Santa Igelsia de Taraçona, en el título desta tragedia [*Isabela*] dice que la escrivió Lupercio Leonardo en sus tiernos años, a quien debemos creher por la amistad que tubo con su hermano Bartolomé Leonardo, y aunque no lo adbierte en la primera [*Alejandra*,] también se conoce que las escribió en el mismo tiempo . . .

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[1] From the plays themselves it is evident that they were originally intended to be represented at Saragossa.

[2] *Filis* has not been discovered.

[3] *Don Quijote*, I, chap. 48.

[4] Ed. Bonilla, *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XXI, Madrid, 1915, p. 495.

[5] *Isabela* and *Alejandra* may be read in Vol. I of the *Obras sueltas*, and in the *Tesoro del teatro español* of Ochoa, Vol. I.

[6] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 24* (*Elogios*), Chap. XXII.

[7] During the years 1624–1630 he was preparing an edition of the verses of Bartolomé Leonardo. See extracts of letters from Bartolomé to Navarro in *Rev. crít. de historia y literatura españolas, portuguesas e hispano-americanas*, Vol. VII, pp. 248–250 and 407–411.

La Barrera[8] mentions a manuscript of *Isabela* dated 1581. López de Sedano[9] says that they were represented at Madrid and Saragossa. It was probably in the former city that they were seen by Cervantes.

The two extant plays have been studied by Professor J. P. W. Crawford.[10] According to Dr. Crawford they represent, together with the works of Juan de la Cueva, Virués, Artieda, and *El Trato de Argel* and *La Numancia* of Cervantes, "a transitional stage in which Spanish drama has freed itself from conscious imitation of classical tragedy as represented in the plays of Gerónimo Bermúdez, and has not yet earned the right to be called national drama"—a stage of Senecan imitation represented in England by *Gorboduc* and *The Spanish Tragedy*, in Italy by Giraldi Cintio's *Orbecche*, and in France by the tragedies of Robert Garnier.

More attention will be given these two dramatic works of Lupercio Leonardo in Chapter XIII of the present study. From the standpoint of biography, we are interested here in the theatrical success of the plays and the indications which they give of the intellectual tastes and culture of the author.

The enthusiastic praises of Cervantes are no doubt colored by a certain rankling against Lope de Vega, and must therefore be discounted. On the other hand, there is no reason for believing, as Fitzmaurice-Kelly did, that Lupercio's plays were failures[11]. There is contemporary evidence to the contrary, and Cervantes' statement that they "delighted and astonished" is borne out by Vicente Espinel,[12] in the second canto of *La casa de la Memoria:*

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[8] *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español*, Madrid, 1860, p. 518. S. G. Morley (*Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1925, Vol. I, p. 523) accepts this testimony without question. J. P. W. Crawford does not: "They were probably written between 1581 and 1585." (*Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 171)

[9] *Parnaso español*, Vol. VI, Appendix, p. xv.

[10] *Romanic Review*, Vol. V (1914), pp. 31–44.

[11] *The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, London, 1892, pp. 192–193.

[12] *Diversas Rimas de Vi|cente Espinel|Beneficiado de las igle|sias de Ronda, con el Arte Poética, y|algunas Odas de Oracio, traduzidas|en verso Castellano.* Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1591, fol. 45 verso.

Mi oreja hiere y mi sentido eleua
tu numeroso verso leuantado,
y el armónico son que el ayre lleua
de tu diuino espíritu engendrado:
ya la trágica Musa se renueva
de aquel antiguo Séneca oluidado,
ya, Lupercio, por ti honro y celebro
por todo el orbe las corrientes de Ebro;

by Agustín de Rojas in the *Viaje entretenido* (*loc. cit.*):

Las cosas iban mejor,
haciendo entonces Artieda
los encantos de Merlín
y Lupercio sus tragedias;

and by Lope de Vega himself,[13] who wrote in October, 1611:

De Lupercio hubo algunas tragedias, pienso que buenas, lo que permitió aquel siglo, en que ni los ingenios eran tantos ni los ignorantes tan atrevidos.

Henri Mérimée[14] deduces from the following lines from the prologue of *Alejandra* that the tragedies of Lupercio were without precedent in the Aragonese capital:

También imaginábades vosotros
que aquí saliera Plauto con su Anfitrio
o Terencio quizá con sus marañas,
y os mostrara a su Sosia, o a su Davo,
a Pánfilo, o a Sima con su Cremes,
y al revés os saldrán los pensamientos,
que todo ha de ser llanto, muertes, guerras,
envidias, inclemencias y rigores.

"Dans ce passage," says Mérimée, "qui s'addresse aux spectateurs, il s'agit pour Argensola d'opposer ses propres pièces,

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[13] Letter to the Duque de Sessa, published in Schack, *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*, Madrid, 1885–1887, Vol. II, p. 310.
[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 247 and note.

où les emprunts à l'antiquité proviennent uniquement des tragiques, aux imitations des comiques latins, qui étaient avant lui tout ce que le grand public connaissait en fait de théâtre antique."

This conclusion must be true in general terms, for the words of the prologue would otherwise have been ridiculous. But the lines quoted take on a new light when it is known that, just as the plot of *Alejandra* is taken from Lodovico Dolce's *Marianna*,[15] its prologue is modelled on that of *Orbecche*, by Giraldi Cintio.[16] The corresponding Italian lines are:

> Ne senza cagion mi maraviglio,
> Che tanti alti Signori, tante alte Donne. . .
> Oggi qui sien venuti, ove non si hanno
> A recitar di Davo, ovver di Siro
> L'astute insidie verso i vecchi avari,
> O pronti motti, che vi muovan riso,
> O amorosi piaceri, o abbracciamenti
> Di cari amanti, o di leggiadre donne,
> Onde possiate aver gioja, e diletto;
> Ma lagrime, sospiri, angosce, affanni,
> E crude morti.[17]

The life of this innovation was brief. The dramatic tastes of the times were rapidly changing, and Lupercio, whose didactic tendencies found in the Senecan drama a ready means of expression, could not look with favor on the frivolities of certain types of the *comedia nueva*, against which he fought openly in later years. He turned his attention to other fields, and his heir, realizing the changed conditions, did not include the tragedies in the *Rimas* of 1634.

Both plays give evidence of Lupercio's acquaintance with the literature of Italy, and both are thoroughly characteristic of

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[15] Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, p. 172.

[16] This parallel was pointed out to me by Dr. J. A. Meredith of the University of Pennsylvania. It is interesting to note that *Alejandra*, which owed so much to Italian drama, was translated into Italian in 1649 by Nicolò Bertini. See Felipe Picatoste, *Los españoles en Italia*, Madrid, 1887, Part I, p. 203.

[17] *Teatro italiano antico*, Milan, 1809, Vol. IV, p. 123.

him—ardent Catholic, stern moralist, and lover of Saragossa, "ciudad santa, metrópoli de santos." *Isabela*, like *Polyeucte*, might bear the subtitle *tragédie chrétienne*, for through it runs the triumphant spirit of Christian martyrdom. Again and again it recalls the ecclesiastical glories of Aragon; three of the characters (Engracia, Lupercio and Lamberto) bear the names of martyred saints of ancient Caesaraugusta; and in the epilogue of *Alejandra* Tragedy explains all the bloodshed witnessed by the audience as the inevitable result of moral baseness:

> Mortales, revolved en la memoria
> cuán ciertas han salido mis palabras.
> Mirad cuántos despojos me han rendido
> los vicios arraigados en los príncipes . . .[18]

[18] Compare the last lines of *Marianna:*

> CORO
> Vedete, egri mortali,
> Come l'ira è cagione
> D'incomparabil mali.
> Però non ui lasciate uscir di mano
> Il fren de la ragione,
> Se poi doler non vi uolete in uano;
> Che questo acuto sprone,
> Voi trasportando a precipizj tali,
> Vi guasti ogni opra, ogni consiglio sano.

Teatro italiano antico, Vol. V, pp. 315–316.

IV

Secretary to the Duque de Villahermosa

After completing his studies, Lupercio Leonardo became secretary to D. Fernando de Aragón, Conde de Ribagorza and Duque de Villahermosa. There are no documents in the archives of the House of Luna[1] to establish the date of this appointment. On June 14, 1586, the Duke assigned to Lupercio a yearly salary of 300 *sueldos jaqueses*,[2] and by the year 1592 the latter had collected 90,000 reals. It is probable, however, that he had been in the service of the Duke before the drawing up of this particular agreement. The fact that the *Austriada* of Juan Rufo was published in Madrid in 1584, containing in its preliminary pages four laudatory octaves of Lupercio Leonardo, would indicate that he was known there as a member of the Duke's household; and still further evidence is furnished by the fact that Lupercio attended in 1585 the *Cortes* of Monzón[3] at which don Fernando sought from the King the means of taking possession of the County of Ribagorza, which had rebelled against his father, don Martín. The known facts make it probable that Leonardo took up his duties as secretary in the summer of 1584, after completing a semester under the instruction of Andreas Schott, in the University of Saragossa.

The position came to him evidently through the influence of don Fernando's wife, doña Juana Pernestáin (Wernstein) y Manrique, who, as a lady-in-waiting to the Empress María, must have known Lupercio's father; and from it he stepped to places of higher honor in the service of the Empress herself and of the King. Because of it he was involved directly in all the stormy and tragic events which mark the history of Aragon in the last two decades of the sixteenth century.

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[1] Madrid. The documents in this archive are divided into three groups: *Ducado de Luna*, *Ducado de Villahermosa*, *Condado de Ribagorza*. There is a good manuscript catalogue.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, Part III, Madrid, 1907, p. 410.

[3] As he himself says. See *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 323–324.

The County of Ribagorza, which formed a part of the possessions of the House of Aragón, had, in the time of the Duke don Martín, risen in rebellion, refusing to recognize his authority and driving him back to his estates near Saragossa. Later attempts to regain control were without avail, and when don Martín died the County was still under a rebel leader. Don Fernando sought to take possession, but the King's policy of procrastination made this impossible and permitted the rebels to go unpunished. Finally, at the *Cortes* of Monzón, don Fernando renewed his petitions (through his brother don Francisco) and the King dispatched a letter to the *Junta* of Ribagorza requiring them to give their allegiance to the new Duke.[4] But the disorders continued and a precarious possession was at length obtained only by force of arms, without the aid or consent of Philip and against the will of his representative, the Viceroy of Aragon. New disasters followed and don Fernando, broken in health and facing defeat, at last received a letter from the King, dated at the Escorial, April, 1588, asking him to come for a personal interview, that the matter of Ribagorza might be settled. He went, only to be told that the King was pleased to have him surrender the County to the Crown, in return for a certain financial recompense. This was done, and the cession of Ribagorza was confirmed by Papal bulls; but the House of Villahermosa did not forget the loss, and don Francisco, brother and successor of don Fernando, complained in 1599 or 1600 of "los agravios que me han hecho, en quitarme la hacienda y el estado de Ribagorza, y no tenerme hecha refacción equivalente."[5]

This same don Francisco tells[6] of the part which Lupercio Leonardo had in this losing fight. In his answer to the charges made against his brother after the seditions of 1591, he says:

Al octavo capítulo. Está respondido en los precedentes capítulos que tratan de las cosas de Ribagorza; y que bien podía estar el Duque descontento

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[4] For Ribagorza see D. Francisco de Gurrea y Aragón, *Comentarios de los sucesos de Aragón en los años 1591 y 1592*, Madrid, 1886, pp. 347–352; 486–498; and 543–547. And Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, *Información de los sucesos del Reino de Aragón en los años 1590 y 1591*, Madrid, 1808, pp. 36–50.

[5] Don Francisco de Gurrea, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 551.

de la detención, gastos y largo modo de proceder, de lo que tocaba a la permuta,[7] pero que no se descontentó del asiento, antes bien *tenía en todo este tiempo a Lupercio Leonardo, su Secretario, . . . solicitando la conclusión de él y la averiguación y despachos que de Roma se habían de traer. . .*

And in the struggle which preceded the settlement Lupercio took part even more directly. He himself relates in his *Información* (p. 45) that the Duke, in his effort to establish his authority, appealed to the local government of Aragon, asking that the Deputies, together with the *Justicia*, should by force expel from the Kingdom "a los extranjeros que valían a los ribagorzanos con mano armada, como lo dispone un fuero. . . que es comunmente llamado el segundo *de generalibus privilegiis.*" This appeal to an ancient *fuero*, which never before had been put into force, roused the Deputies to action, but worked against rather than for the interests of the Duke. The same *fuero* was the cause of the resistance offered in 1591 to the entrance into Aragonese territory of the army of don Alonso de Vargas, and in this connection we read in the *Comentarios* (p. 143): "Este fuero, y la introducción de declararle y ponerle en ejecución fué inventor de él, según dicen, Lupercio Leonardo, cuando las cosas de Ribagorza."

Lupercio complained with reason to his brother[8] of his lack of leisure between 1583 and 1589. The extent to which the Duke depended on him is clearly seen, and this dependence was to increase as the clouds grew more and more heavy over the estates of Villahermosa, and the whole of Aragon.

The uprisings in Ribagorza, favored by the powerful at Madrid, were but one of the many manifestations of the gradual subordination of the Aragonese nobility to the centralization of Philip II. Of these events the histories are full, and in the present study they can be treated only in so far as they affect Lupercio Leonardo. The year 1591 marks their culmination.

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[7] The surrender of Ribagorza to the Crown.

[8] He writes in March, 1589:

Pues ha seis años que un momento de ocio
no gozo. . .
(*Obras sueltas*, I, p. 19.)

Antonio Pérez had escaped from the clutches of Philip into his native province of Aragon, and there had made appeal to its ancient prerogative of *manifestación* whereby a prisoner could not be given up except after a trial conducted in accordance with the laws of the Kingdom.[9] The King, desirous of getting Pérez back into Castile, had recourse to the Inquisition; and charges of heresy were made in due legal form;[10] but the transfer of the prisoner from the *cárcel de los manifestados* to the prison of the Inquisition was made so quickly and mysteriously that the people of Saragossa believed it had been done violently and contrary to law, with the result that the mob attacked the quarters of the Holy Office, and at the door killed two servants of the Inquisitors.[11] The latter, in view of the danger, consented that Pérez be returned to the custody of the *Justicia*.

These were the famous *sucesos* of the 24th of May. It was not until the 24th of September that the authorities dared attempt to return the prisoner to the Inquisitors.[12] This attempt failed completely. The seditious elements gained the upper hand; the governor fled; Pérez was taken by his friends from the prison of the *manifestados*, and escaped to the mountains of Tauste, making his way eventually into France. On this day over one hundred persons were killed.

Thereafter followed the entrance (November 11) of the army sent by Philip under D. Alonso de Vargas to maintain order; the resistance on the part of the *Justicia*, who sought to uphold the second *fuero de privilegiis generalibus*, whereby only Aragonese troops could bear arms within the Kingdom; the execution of the *Justicia* as a rebel; and the modification, in favor of Madrid, of the old constitution of Aragon. In all of these events the Duque de Villahermosa was directly concerned, and his action in them was in many cases determined by the advice of his secretary.

Previous to the first seditions of 1591 the Kingdom was greatly disturbed by the suit brought by the King against the *fuero* which forbade the appointment as Viceroy of Aragon of anyone not a

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[9] Argensola, *Información*, pp. 17–21.
[10] *Comentarios*, p. 42: "Por acusación bastante."
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[12] *Comentarios*, pp. 76, 77, 82, 83, 93, 95, and 127–137.

native of that Kingdom. The case depended on the interpretation of the *fuero*, and the King sent the Marqués de Almenara to Saragossa to take charge of the suit. The inhabitants became greatly incensed against him, and passion mounted high as the suit was begun.[13] On this occasion the Duque de Villahermosa and the Conde de Aranda signed a paper in which it was proposed that the titled nobility of the Kingdom form a protective union to maintain the cause of justice.[14] The signing of this paper was later charged against don Fernando as an act of conspiracy, and don Francisco in his *Comentarios* (p. 29) places on Lupercio Leonardo the blame for this unfortunate move:

> y así para alentar las cosas por parte del Reino para la defensa de este pleito [del Virrey extranjero] el Conde de Aranda *qui volebat populo satisfacere* firmó este cartel, y el Duque de Villahermosa juntamente con él, por ser fácil a cualquiera cosa, y ambos a dos sujetos al parecer de un Secretario del Duque llamado Lupercio Leonardo, que los gobernaba y les notaba las cartas que al Rey y Ministros escribían entrambos, que por el discurso de ellas se juzgará el daño que les hizo.

The author of the *Comentarios* has been quoted since the time of Pellicer in praise of the two Leonardos. He does, indeed, speak frequently of the high esteem in which they were held, but inasmuch as he disapproved of the vacillating policy of his brother don Fernando, there is often a shade of irony in his references to "la sabiduría de Leonardo."

On the occasion of the riot of May 24th, the Duke was absent from Saragossa, but upon receiving the news he wrote to the King from Pedrola on May 29th, offering his services to be used as His Majesty should see fit (p. 68). Philip answered from San Lorenzo on July 10th, expressing thanks for the manifestation of loyalty, and ordering don Fernando to go to Saragossa and there use his authority in the interests of the Crown (pp. 70–71). But, in the words of don Francisco, the Duke lacked the ability to take advantage of the opportunities offered him by this commission. He made an attempt, together with Aranda and other

[13] Argensola, *Información*, pp. 53–57.
[14] *Comentarios*, p. 29.

nobles, to gather a body of armed men and restore Antonio Pérez to the prison of the Inquisition; but hesitation at the crucial moment caused the effort to come to naught:

Anduvieron luego juntos en la Diputación con letrados, si se debía hacer, . . . y la entrega de Antonio Pérez se desvaneció por esta vez. (*Comentarios*, p. 76).

The Duke found himself between two fires. Loyal always to his King, he felt that he lacked power to cope with the situation, and his activity as the agent of Philip was reduced to reporting the state of affairs and asking for instructions. Don Francisco, whose courage was in sharp contrast to his brother's weakness, suggested to the Deputies that, instead of aggravating the King with new complaints, they set about to reestablish the royal authority and that of the Holy Office, and offered his services to that end (pp. 77–82). But his counsels were not to prevail, and another letter, written by Bartolomé Leonardo, was sent to Madrid:

Al fin . . escogieron por mejor medio . . . escribir una carta al Rey nuestro señor, ordenada por un Bartolomé Leonardo, que ella dará testimonio de sí para verificar que éste y su hermano Lupercio Leonardo son tenidos por el pozo y hondura de la secretaría, y de bien hablados y buenos entendimientos y grandes conceptos. . .

In this letter (pp. 82–86) Bartolomé Leonardo gave an account of the popular suspicion which had led to the violence of May 24th, and declared that the witnesses brought against Pérez in the heresy charge were false; that the ministers of the Inquisition had seized him in order to take him to Castile; that the Marqués de Almenara, as agent of the King (in the *pleito del virrey extranjero*) had proceeded contrary to law,[15] basing his right to do so on his special commission from the King; and that all these things had resulted in the popular uprising and the death of Almenara. All of this, according to don Francisco, was to pour, not oil, but pitch on the fire of the King's wrath:

[15] "Había hecho el Marqués muchas provisiones tan absolutas y desaforadas que jamás se han visto (p. 84)."

Y como la determinación iba ya encaminada al castigo, ni se les respondió a estos papelotes, ni se les amenazaba con castigo . . .; pues bastaba, si ojos tuvieran, . . . ver las prevenciones que del ejército . . . se hacían en la frontera de Castilla y de Aragón. (p. 86).

On September 15th the King again wrote to don Fernando, declaring that his intention was to reestablish the authority of the *fueros* and of the Holy Office, with the aid of the Duke (pp. 127–128), but without giving definite instructions. Upon receipt of this letter don Fernando sent Lupercio Leonardo to the Viceroy, asking a statement of the plans for the surrender of Pérez, but the only reply was that the Governor would attend to everything (pp. 129–130).

The arbitrary plans of the Governor fell through on September 24th. Don Fernando acted bravely in the final disaster, and his house became a refuge for all the public officers, including the Governor and the Viceroy. He thereupon caused Bartolomé Leonardo[16] to draw up another letter to His Majesty, giving a report of what happened, and indicating clearly that no one in authority in Saragossa had been guilty of disloyalty. This letter itself, says Don Francisco (p. 140), would have been sufficient to clear up the whole situation. But before it reached its destination the Court of the *Justicia* had declared the necessity of resisting the entrance of the Castilian army[17] in accordance with the *fuero segundo*.[18] This declaration, which, it was commonly thought, was made by the *Justicia* and his lieutenants through fear of the seditious elements of the population, was the cause of the disasters which followed:

[Quiso] su Majestad sólo por esta ceguera, y culpa de los que lo declararon, justificar todo lo que después quiso cargar al Reino. (p. 140).

The possibility of the entrance of a Castilian army was looked

[16] This letter appears on pages 138–140 of the *Comentarios* and also in Ms. 9855 of the Biblioteca Nacional with the note: *Notóla Bartolomé Leonardo.* . .

[17] It had been intended to send this army to aid the Catholic League in France, but Philip diverted it to maintain martial law in Saragossa.

[18] Which, it will be remembered, Lupercio had caused to be put into force connection with the disturbances in Ribagorza.

upon by many as a calamity. The Deputies sent an envoy to don Alonso de Vargas, saying that if he wished to lead his men into France, he might send them through Aragon in divisions of five hundred, their weapons being carried through in bond; but that on no other conditions would he be allowed to enter the Kingdom. And the Duquesa de Villahermosa determined to do all in her power to prevent the entrance of an outside force. In spite of the difficulties of getting past the guard maintained at the gates of the city by the rioters, she started for Madrid, taking with her Lupercio Leonardo and don Juan Paternoy (pp. 143–147). Her first move was to stop at Ágreda, where she tried to prevail upon don Alonso not to enter the Kingdom under arms, as we read in the *Comentarios* (p. 148):

> Trató con él de las cosas de Aragón con demasiada demostración de tener en poco toda aquella máquina de ejército que se hacía, diciendo ella y sus criados *y la sabiduría de Leonardo* que aquello no era para resistir a los labradores de Zaragoza.

Don Alonso was all courtesy in his treatment of her, but later he confessed to don Francisco that had she been a man he would have made her prisoner for her impertinence.

At the same time (October 31, 1591) that they sent the Duchess to Madrid as their representative, Aranda and Villahermosa sent two formal protests, one to Vargas and the other to the King, stating that they were under duress, that they doubted the sincerity of the tribunal of the *Justicia* in making its declaration of resistance, that arms and artillery had been gathered and that they had been required to give such pieces as they had "por no tener fuerzas para defenderla, ni saber si debíamos hacerlo, aunque la concedimos con las protestaciones que en tanta opresión se nos han permitido" (p. 149); and asking that attention be given the Duchess in her representation of the disasters which would follow an attempt to establish martial law.

The writing of these protests is severely criticised by don Francisco, who, far from sharing the uncertainty of his brother, at an early date identified himself with Vargas, furnishing him with provisions and pack animals, and with him entering Aragon under the King's standard (pp. 197–198); and he again lays the blame for this action upon Lupercio:

> A mi parecer, el consejo fué del Secretario del Duque, que era hechura y consejero del de Aranda, . . . y hacía firmar y escribir en una misma carta a estos dos Señores, cosa muy excusada, peligrosa y no bien entendida; pero el suceso lo mostró, y cómo se recibía esto en Castilla (p. 157).

The *Justicia* meanwhile had sent out his proclamation and brought out the pennant of St. George in order to rally the people, but to such an extent was this resistance the work of the rebel leaders that less than fifteen hundred men were gathered together. Aranda and Villahermosa refused to take up arms against their King and escaped from Saragossa to Épila (p. 186). The *Justicia* himself, realizing the hopelessness of his situation, escaped "a uña de caballo" from among the men he was leading, and likewise took refuge in Épila. In the meantime the army entered, and Aranda, resenting the fact that Vargas had apparently ignored the offer of his services, refused to return to Saragossa, being followed in this by Villahermosa. But Vargas had not meant to slight any one, and desiring that these two gentlemen should enter Saragossa in his army, sent don Francisco to Épila to present this request. Aranda in his pique made excuses, and the Duke, out of friendship for him, disregarded his brother's entreaties and delayed his return. At this time Lupercio Leonardo sped from Madrid to Épila to add his influence to that of don Francisco. He spent 330 reals on post horses, "teniendo necesidad de dejar los caballos en Calatayud y tomar mulas de alquiler, volviendo después a tomar caballos de posta para ir a Épila, y desde allí a Zaragoza" [19].

At last they yielded, and entered Saragossa, where Vargas was maintaining the strictest discipline, and where it was generally

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[19] Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, pp. 410–411.

hoped that a bloodless settlement of the revolt would be made. But to the surprise of all, on December 19 the *Justicia* was beheaded as a traitor, and Aranda and Villahermosa, because of their relations with him and their failure to come when sent for by don Alonso, were seized in the name of the King and sent as prisoners respectively to the Castillo de la Mota at Medina del Campo and to the Tower of Burgos.

Mystery shrouds the fate of these two unfortunate gentlemen. The *Comentarios* of don Francisco (p. 285) place a large share of the responsibility for their ruin on the Conde de Chinchón, whose long-standing enmity toward the House of Villahermosa, together with his power at Court, greatly aggravated their situation. The Conde de Aranda died suddenly, after being moved from Medina del Campo to the fortress of Coca. In like manner don Fernando's death followed his removal, in November, 1592, from the Castle of Burgos to that of Miranda. In each case there were suspicions of poisoning.

The King sent from Madrid Dr. Miguel Lanz to conduct the trials of the persons charged with treason. Don Francisco and the Duchess doña Juana set about clearing don Fernando's name. In this they were aided by Lupercio Leonardo, who at this time made frequent trips between Madrid and Saragossa in the interests of the trial, as is seen from his expense account recorded by Pérez Pastor;[20] and don Francisco, in his reply to the charges brought against his brother, refers frequently to the "probanzas que trae advertidas Lupercio Leonardo," and "los advertimientos de Leonardo" (pp. 552–553).

Years passed and the suits remained unsettled. On July 25, 1594, Bartolomé Leonardo wrote from Valencia to his friend Bartolomé Llorente:[21]

Yo pienso negociar aquí mal o bien y acudir a Madrid para dar el último esfuerzo al negocio del Duque, del qual va ya hecha la relación, y no pierdo la esperanza de pasar por çaragoza . . .;

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[20] *Ibidem.*

[21] El Conde de la Viñaza: *Los Cronistas de Aragón, discurso leído ante. . . la Real Academia de la Historia el día 13 de Marzo de 1904*, Madrid, Imprenta de los Hijos de M. G. Fernández, 1904: Appendix, section 190, letter 5.

and on February 14, 1595:

Las cosas del Duque están en el punto que si la razón o sinrazón de estado no las tropella, podemos esperar bonísimo suceso, y porque tenemos Rey y Juezes tan cristianos y rectos que nos aseguran de todos estos temores: pero sin embargo suplico a Vm. que las encomienden a Nuestro Señor . . .[22]

At the very end of the latter year, sentence was given in favor of don Fernando and against the Conde de Aranda, whose name was cleared, however, when Philip III came to the throne (*Comentarios*, p. 378).

Attempting, after so long a discussion, to form an estimate of Lupercio's part in these events, we may say that he was more of a scholar than a statesman; that he was more suited to dig out and put into force an ancient *fuero* than to bear successfully the responsibility of guiding the Duke through the maze of so many apparently conflicting duties; that his skill in drawing up the *cabos* of a memorial, and his confidence in the power of his papers to move a King who had his own ends in view, may have blinded him to the necessity of taking a definite stand, even at a risk. Don Francisco de Aragón on more than one occasion expressed a hard judgment in regard to him; but he also did him justice. After don Alonso de Vargas had established quiet, the citizens of Saragossa put forth every effort to justify their actions. Don Francisco drew up the rough draft for His Majesty, and gave it to Lupercio to be put in its final form:

y entre otros que ha sido tenido hombre a propósito en esta materia de papeles y de discursos, por ser leído y tener buen natural, era un Secretario del Duque de Villahermosa, que llaman Lupercio Leonardo, y habiendo visto mi borrador, hizo los cabos sobre la misma substancia y particulares de mi Memorial (*Comentarios*, pp. 213–214).

At times Don Francisco had reason to complain of the reputation which Lupercio enjoyed:

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[22] *Ibid.*, letter 9.

y dejé minutadas algunas cartas para que don Jorge las llevase firmadas del Reino, y la substancia de las demás, y porque no osaron darme a mí la instrucción, remitiéndola en la forma que a don Jorge le dieron hechas las instrucciones de las cartas, las dieron a Lupercio Leonardo que las ordenase, que, como digo, las di yo y hice la substancia, y aun las más ordené, y aunque se han tenido por buenas y se han alabado, atribuyéndolas al que las escribió, *por la buena reputación que en su habilidad tiene*, es pesar y sentimiento que si alguno echó algún trabajo, otro se llevase la gloria (p. 262).

But he also sought Lupercio's advice: "Consulté con Lupercio Leonardo, como persona entendida y curial" (p. 292).

In addition to his work for the Duque de Villahermosa, Lupercio placed himself at the disposal of the Deputies. In the Biblioteca Nacional (Ms. 9855, fol. 146 ff.) there is a copy of a letter, bearing the following heading: "Carta de los Diputados del Reyno de Aragón al Príncipe Nuestro Señor. Notóla Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola."
In it the Prince is asked to intercede with his father in behalf of the Kingdom.

Finally, Lupercio seems to have kept the favor of the King through these distressing times. In a letter to don Francisco de Aragón[23] in which he tells of legal and financial worries that have come to him, he says:

Y no crea V.S. que lo digo esto por imaginar que ha de haber cosas de hecho, que el Rey tiene preuenidos estos casos, *y yo no lo estoy tan poco que no pudiera dormir en medio de las sediciones pasadas*";

and he ends the letter with these words: "Y yo, Señor, sacando al Rey y a la Duquesa contra todos los del mundo, he de seruir a V. S., etc."

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[23] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 119. The original is in the Archive of the Duque de Luna, Madrid, *Ducado de Villahermosa*, año 1593, Leg. VI, primero, núm. segundo. The date is July 22, 1593.

V

Marriage

According to the records of the Church of San Luis in Madrid,[1] the nuptial mass of Lupercio Leonardo and María Ana de Albión was celebrated on the second of September, 1593, in the presence of Juan de la Puente, Manuel Lozano, Pablo Zurita and many other persons, the sponsors being Nicolás de Soria and Aldonza Tudela, mother of the bridegroom. The date, however, cannot be accepted, and must represent an error on the part of the recorder. It conflicts, in the first place, with the fact that *siendo muy mozo*[2] Lupercio was already engaged to doña Mariana, as he explained before the *Academia de los Humildes.* In 1593 he had nearly completed his thirty-fourth year. It conflicts also with the known facts in regard to Lupercio's son, Gabriel. In September, 1600, Bartolomé Leonardo wrote to Llorente[3] that the lad knew his Greek and rhetoric and was ready to enter the University of Saragossa. In December, 1602, Lupercio wrote to Justus Lipsius[4] that his son was in his fifteenth year; and when in March, 1613, Lupercio Leonardo died in Italy, it was Gabriel who succeeded to his father's place as Secretary of State and War under Conde de Lemos, Viceroy of Naples—a position which he would have been ill prepared to fill had his birth occurred in 1594. In view of these facts, we are obliged to place Lupercio's marriage at least as early as 1587.

Doña Mariana Bárbara de Albión was the daughter of don Jerónimo de Albión and doña Jerónima de Reus, and the widow of Luis Zaporta, by whom she had had a daughter, Jerónima. Considerable information as to her family is furnished by the petition, already quoted,[5] of D. Miguel Leonardo to Philip IV.

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[1] Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, p. 410.
[2] See the Index to the *Rimas*, 1634, under *Obediente respondo a la pregunta*, and the *tercetos* of which this is the first line, p. 73, ff.
[3] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 34.
[4] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[5] V. *supra*, p. 1.

Don Jerónimo de Albión served King Philip II "en negocios de mucha confianza, dándole diferentes instrucciones secretas su Confesor don Fr. Bernardo de la Fresneda." Don Jerónimo's brother, fray Felipe de Albión, was a knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and was governor of the Castle of Salsas, in which he rendered faithful service, "imitando las hazañas de sus ascendientes, que desde la restitución de los Condados de Rosellón i Cerdenia avían governado aquellos presidios." Indeed, it was Juan de Albión, grandfather of don Jerónimo and fray Felipe, who was sent in 1491 by Ferdinand the Catholic as ambassador to the King of France to negotiate with him the restitution to Spain of these Counties (Rousillon and Cerdagne), and who, in the words of Zurita,[6] was largely instrumental in causing them to be ceded to Ferdinand in 1493.

Thus Lupercio married into a family no less distinguished than his own. There is every indication that the union was a happy one. Perhaps there could be no better proof of this than the fact that Lupercio came to love his step-child as if she were his own daughter,[7] and that she was willing to leave her own share of her mother's estate in the hands of her step-father.[8] It was probably in 1588 that their son Gabriel was born to them. Lupercio took a great interest in the boy's education, and in 1600 he wrote to Llorente:[9]

> Estaré en essa ciudad, dándome Dios salud, algunos días antes de S. Lucas, que quiero dexar a Gabriel en ella a oyr las artes, porque su edad y complexión no es para fiarla de quien le quiera menos que su agüela, hermana, y tía.

With obvious pride he speaks of him to Justus Lipsius:[10]

> Filius est mi Gabriel, qui nondum decimum quintum aetatis annum explevit, Latinae Grecaeque Linguae non ignarus, moribus candidissimis, puer meliori aevo, meliore patre dignus.[11]

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[6] *Historia del Rey D. Hernando*, Book I, Chap. 4.
[7] See letter to D. Francisco de Gurrea y Aragón, Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 119, letter 2.
[8] As we learn from the same letter.
[9] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 118, letter 7.
[10] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[11] *Ibid.*

Some nine years later a daughter was born prematurely, and having received baptism, died two days after birth. A depth of affection is revealed in these words from the letter in which Lupercio gives the news of this sad event to his friend Bartolomé Llorente:[12]

> Todo esto pasó en mi ausencia y tuve auiso dello en esa ciudad la noche antes de mi partida, y así vine con grandísima pena. Hallé fuera de peligro doña Mariana, aunque tan flaca y llena de achaques que pienso que se le apareja muy trabajoso invierno. Doy a V.m. tan larga quenta porque en sus sacrificios se acuerde della y mande que Mosén Martín en la Capilla la encomiende en las Ave Marías de los devotos.

So far as is known, there were no other children.

On one occasion doña Mariana left her home, but not because of any trouble with her husband. In 1593, finding herself for reasons unknown to us, "con algunas obligaciones de conciencia y de mundo muy apretada," she settled upon her children the estate which she had from her first marriage, and her other property upon her husband, and suddenly entered the Monastery of Santa Lucía, at a time when Lupercio was in Madrid. This action caused considerable disappointment to certain relatives who had hoped to share the property, and pressure was brought in an effort to make Lupercio renounce the gift:

> Yo no me admiré de que me hubiese confiado o dado su hazienda, porque a tenido causas para ello, pero sus hijos, o, por dezir mejor, sus tías que la esperauan, creo yo que con gran deseo, començaron a hazer tales diligencias para que yo la renunciase, y con tales términos, que la han hecho irrevocable."[13]

Of all these things Lupercio wrote to don Francisco de Aragón,[14] seeking the support of his authority, and expressing his confidence that the influence of the Duchess and of the King would uphold the justice of his cause. The result we do not know, but Lupercio's letters show that doña Mariana was with

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[12] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 118, letter 4.
[13] *Ibid.*, Appendix 119, letter 2.
[14] In the letter quoted.

him again at least as early as 1595, and thereafter. A private lawsuit was going on in 1602, as Lupercio wrote to Lipsius in December of that year.[15] There is no further notice of it. Lupercio lived in a time of *pleitos*. But in general his private life was one of real and lasting happiness.[16]

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[15] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[16] Doña Mariana survived her husband, delivered to the Deputies certain writings which he had left, and collected from them money which was due him. She was still living in 1631, for she is mentioned in the will of her brother-in-law, Bartolomé Leonardo.

VI

The Academy in Madrid

At the time of Lupercio's appearance at Court in 1584 he was already known in literary circles as a tragic and lyric poet. The three tragedies had been presented in the capital; laudatory verses by him had appeared in two books published in Aragon;[1] and it is probable that other compositions circulated in manuscript. He was at once requested by Juan Rufo to write the *estancias* which honor the prefatory pages of the *Austriada*,[2] and the following year two sonnets commemorated the Duke of Savoy's embarkation for Spain and his marriage to the Infanta Catalina.[3]

Soon after his arrival, the young secretary was admitted to membership in one of Madrid's literary academies:

> Siendo muy mozo el autor, fué admitido a una Academia de personas graves que havía entonzes en Madrid, en la cual tomó por nombre el Bárbaro, i se le preguntó la causa de llamarse assí, a que respondió con estos terzetos.[4]

Pellicer[5] makes the statement that this was the *Academia Imitatoria*, which is mentioned by Cervantes in the *Coloquio de los perros* and in Chapter LXXI of the second part of *Don Quijote*, and by Juan Rufo in his second *apotegma*.[6] His reasons for so doing would seem to have been two: that Lupercio was acquainted with Rufo, and that, in 1778, Pellicer knew no other academy to which the young Leonardo could have belonged. Of the *Academia Imitatoria* we know absolutely nothing beyond

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[1] The *Libro de Orlando determinado* of D. Martín de Bolea y Castro, Saragossa and Lérida, 1578; and the *Divina y varia poesía of* Fr. Jaime de Torres Huesca, 1579.

[2] Madrid, 1584 and Toledo, 1585.

[3] *Recive, o sacro Mar, una esperanza* and *O tú que las memorias de Barcino, Rimas*, 1634, p. 132.

[4] *Rimas*, 1634, Index, under *Obediente respondo a la pregunta.* The mystery of the name is explained in the last lines, p. 76.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

[6] *Las seiscientas apotegmas y otras obras en verso de Juan Rufo*, ed. Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1923, p. 16.

what Rufo tells us: that it was founded in Madrid in imitation of the famous academies of Italy, its president being a rich young nobleman who was himself a poet; that it was attended by illustrious persons, including ministers of the King; but that it ceased to exist within a year of its foundation. Navarrete in his life of Cervantes made use of the statement of Pellicer as follows:

> Parece que Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, siendo muy mozo, fué admitido en esta Academia, en la cual tomó por nombre el de Bárbaro; y preguntándole la causa de llamarse así, respondió con aquellos ingeniosos tercetos manifestando que quiso tomar tal nombre con alusión a doña Mariana Bárbara de Albión a quien obsequiaba, y con quien casó por los años de 1587.[7]

All this is objected to by D. Agustín G. de Amezúa in his notes to the *Coloquio de los perros:*

> El fundamento que tuvo Navarrete para dar esta noticia, que deja sin prueba . . . son . . ., aunque lo calle, aquellas palabras con que Gabriel Leonardo de Albión . . . ilustró los tercetos . . . mas como en ellos no se cita para nada la Academia Imitatoria, *nominatim*, ni de las dichas palabras puede deducirse que fuera cabalmente ésta, y no otra de las muchas conocidas o ignoradas, en la que ingresase el famoso secretario, concluyo, finalmente, que las únicas noticias auténticas, harto escasas y pobres, . . . que de la Academia Imitatoria nos restan son las que dió Rufo.[8]

But we are not without a clue as to the identity of the academy which included Lupercio Leonardo among its members. In his study on the foundation of the Royal Spanish Academy,[9] Sr. Cotarelo y Mori says:

> Viniendo ya a las academias de Madrid, nos sale al encuentro una llamada de los *Humildes*, de que sólo el nombre conocemos,[10] y, por el mismo tiempo, o quizás antes, la denominada *Imitatoria*, de que tampoco sabemos sino lo que el Jurado Juan Rufo nos cuenta en sus *Seiscientas apotegmas.*

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[7] *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Madrid, 1819, pp. 408–409.
[8] *El Casamiento engañoso y El coloquio de los perros*, Madrid, 1912, p. 469.
[9] *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, I, 1914, p. 10.
[10] "Se cita en el índice de los mss. de la Biblioteca Nacional como existente en 1592. Pero el códice que hablaba de la Academia no se halla hoy en dicha Biblioteca, o se ha extraviado en ella." Note of Cotarelo.

It is to this *Academia de los Humildes*, and not to the *Imitatoria*, that Lupercio Leonardo almost certainly belonged. In the *tercetos* on the name *Bárbaro* Lupercio says, speaking of himself in the third person:

> I si del ocio huyendo, por recreo
> busca la discreción de la Academia
> que ser *humilde* tiene por trofeo,
> le sigue, i le persigue la blasphemia
> como si fuera público enemigo. . . . (*Rimas*, 1634, p. 76)

And it will be remembered that the editor of the *Rimas* spoke of an academy *que havía entonzes en Madrid*, words which seem to apply to a well established institution. The *Academia Imitatoria* had only one year of life, and could not have been referred to in these terms.[11]

In the absence of further information in regard to the *Academia de los Humildes*, it is impossible to know the influence which it had upon the secretary of don Fernando de Aragón. From the *tercetos* of Lupercio it appears that literary exercises were held in favor only by a minority at Court, and that, consequently, the group must have been select. It is very possible that Juan Rufo was a member.

In the midst of his duties as secretary to the Duke, Lupercio Leonardo could have found but little time for the cultivation of letters. Of the poems which it has been possible to date, only twelve can be assigned to the period between 1584 and 1593. In 1589 Lupercio allows his pen to wander from *terceto* to *terceto* because he finds it necessary to give expression to his long-pent-up emotions. He writes to his brother Bartolomé:

> Pues mientras en mi pecho hierve el mosto
> de todas estas cosas, porque el humo
> ahoga cuando está en lugar angosto,
> aunque me ha de costar trabajo sumo,
> quiérole dar salida por la pluma,
> que ha mucho que callando me consumo. (*Obras sueltas*, I, p. 19).

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[11] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Horacio en España*, II, p. 85, says of the *tercetos* in question: "Leídos por Lupercio en la Academia *Selvaje*," but as this Academy was not founded until 1612 (Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, p. 13) the statement is an evident error.

One pretentious poem[12] was written in this same year for the *certamen* held at Alcalá de Henares on the occasion of the canonization of San Diego; and another was written for the Princess Isabella shortly before she took the veil.[13] A sonnet graced the edition (1591) of the *Rimas* of Vicente Espinel,[14] and two others commemorated respectively the birth of a son to the Conde de Aranda[15] and the *Cortes* which Philip II held in Tarazona after the pacification of Aragon.[16] But in general the production of these years was very slight. It was not until Lupercio became secretary to the Empress María that he had leisure to devote himself seriously to literature.

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[12] The *Canción* beginning: *En estas sacras ceremonias pías, Rimas*, p. 102.
[13] *Tercetos: Hay un lugar en la mitad de España, Rimas*, p. 116.
[14] *Quien duda que pudiese del infierno, Obras sueltas*, I, p. 3.
[15] *Dulce descuento del dolor pasado, Rimas*, p. 134. Written before 1592. The Conde don Luis died in prison as a result of the *sucesos* of '91.
[16] *Excelso monte cuya frente altiva, Rimas*, p. 131.

VII

Secretary to the Empress

The letter of Lupercio to the Abbess of the *Descalzas Reales*, in which he is obviously expecting to be given a place in the Empress' service, is unfortunately undated. But its original is filed in the Archive of the Duque de Luna[1] among papers belonging to the year 1593. This date is made all the more probable by the fact that Bartolomé Leonardo was made chaplain to the Empress in 1592.[2] The Abbess replied on the margin of Lupercio's letter, also without date:

A mi señora la Duquesa sé yo bien lo que la sirvo en dessear su acrecentamiento de buestra merced, y oydo tenía a su Señoría la plática que se auía pasado con don Juan, queriéndose asegurar de la merced que su Magestad Cesárea le tiene prometida en la ocupación de su persona de buestra merced, y aprouechamiento del saber; en que entiendo que no podrá ser asta dar lugar la salud del Rey a que se comuniquen y resuelban su Magestad y su Alteza en sus prouisiones, teniendo buestra merced seguridad de no quedar en bajo su pretensión y desseo.

It is thus seen that the person most interested in finding a new employment for Lupercio was the Duchess doña Juana, widow of the Duque de Villahermosa. This would naturally have taken place shortly after the death of her husband, in 1592.

It was at about this time, and perhaps through the influence of the same lady, that Lupercio was further honored by being made a gentleman of the bedchamber of the Archduke Albert, son of the Empress. Pellicer[3] suggests that this may have taken

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[1] Madrid: *Ducado de Villahermosa*, año 1593, Leg. VI, primero, núm. 2. This letter was published by Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 119, letter 1, but the marginal reply which he ascribes to don Francisco de Aragón was written by the Abbess, as is made clear by its contents and by the fact that Lupercio filed it among his papers writing on the back this note: "De mi Sa. la Abbadessa de las descalças. B. núm. 17."

[2] As we read in a letter from Maestro Franco to Llorente, Sept. 18, 1592, pub. by Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 1.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.

place in 1594, when Albert went from Portugal to take possession of his estates in Flanders, stopping in Madrid on the way to receive the archbishopric of Toledo and to say good-bye to his mother and sister. The earliest document in which Lupercio appears with the title *Gentilhombre de la casa del Archiduque*[4] bears the date January 12, 1596. On September 27 of the following year Bartolomé Leonardo, in the name of his brother Lupercio, gave a receipt for 25,000 maravedis "que dicho su hermano hubo de haber . . . de los 75,000 maravedises que en cada un año tiene de gajes de tal gentilhombre."[5] It appears also that Lupercio was given a sinecure by the Archduke Ernest.[6]

In his letter to the Abbess he expresses the hope that the title granted by the Empress be not merely honorary:

> Adbierto a V.S. que la tendré por mucho menor si fuere de prouecho sin empleo, declarándome en esto por inútil para el seruicio de su Alteza.

Yet the duties attendant upon the new position could not have been exacting, and the young secretary entered upon a period of great intellectual activity. The best of his poems were written before 1603;[7] by the 8th of March, 1594, he had practically completed a translation of the *Annales* of Tacitus, and on that date he wrote from Madrid to his friend Llorente[8] expressing disappointment that another had preceded him in putting a translation of Tacitus before the public. From that time on his interest in history and historical research never abated.

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[4] Pérez Pastor, *op. cit.*, III, p. 410.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 162.

[6] See the Latin epitaph prepared by the *Academia de los Ociosos* of Naples (Pellicer, p. 37), and the following extracts from the Latin eulogy read at Lupercio's funeral: "Nam Anna Augusta . . . illum sibi a secretis merito constituit. Eodem munere functus est apud duos Maximiliani II filios, Archiduces Austriae, Ernestum et Albertum, a quibus deputabat ad singula, verbaque eius illis pro sententia habebantur." (Real Ac. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 24*, Chap. XX, fol. 66 verso).

[7] The date of the *aprobaciones* of the *Primera parte de poetas ilvstres de España . . . Ordenada por Pedro Espinosa . . ., En Valladolid, Año MDCV.*

[8] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 118, letter 1.

On May 3, 1595, Lupercio was made *notario extracto*[9] of the body of Deputies in Saragossa at a salary of 200 *libras jaquesas* annually.[10] On May 31 his attorney appeared before the Consistory, presented in the name of Lupercio a written excuse for his absence; and requested that the full month allowed by law for the appearance in person of the incumbent be granted, and that the Deputies should not proceed to draw another name. On June 30 Lupercio Leonardo appeared in person and said

que tenía necesidad de absentarse de la presente Ciudad de çaragoça y sus términos, por negocios y cosas de mucha importancia, y estando y residiendo en la presente ciudad, tenía en ella muchas ocupaciones y impedimentos de manera que no podía entender particularmente en las cosas de la Diputación, y que por su officio estaua obligado de hazer.

In view of these facts, and in accordance with his request, he was given permission to appoint a substitute.[11] Lupercio's action in this matter at first seems mysterious. It is probable that he wished to be able to appoint his own substitute, and that his trip from Madrid to Saragossa was made in the interests of a friend.[12]

From a letter of Lupercio to Llorente[13] we learn that in May, 1597, he had already begun work on his *Historia general de la España Tarraconense.* In it he intended to trace the political and ecclesiastical history of Aragon from the foundation of Saragossa[14] by the Emperor Augustus to the time of the reconquest of the Kingdom from the Moors, at which point Jerónimo Zurita had begun his *Anales.* This was a task which lay very close to Lupercio's heart, and which occupied his mind and pen until his death, although in 1608 public duties caused him practically to discontinue it.

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[9] So called because the names of the eligible men were written on small slips of paper and enclosed in balls of wax. One ball was picked at random and the position given to the person whose name it contained.

[10] The value of the *libra jaquesa* was Ptas. 4.71 (Alemany).

[11] Archivo de la Diputación de Zaragoza, *Ms. 276*, fol. 167 ff; *Ms. 280*, fols. 1–5; 17 verso and 18.

[12] Lorenzo Ibáñez de Aoiz.

[13] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 118, letter 5.

[14] Colonia Caesar Augusta.

In the preparation of this history Lupercio sought the collaboration of the most learned churchmen and antiquarians of Aragon, and in a letter to Llorente he speaks of "los Italianos doctos con quien he conferido el intento y los escritos."[15] His own investigations were most diligent, and it was perhaps the scarcity of material for the history of Aragon before 1118, and a desire to gain access to new sources, that caused him to devote himself to the study of Arabic and of numismatics.

On September 11, 1598, he wrote to Llorente:[16]

> Mande Vm. decir a nuestro Godoy que cierto no se hallan cartillas arábigas, y que yo no envío la mía, porque sin maestro no podía aprender, ni yo acá sin ella, y ahora podría ser que se anudase el hilo, porque con la muerte del Rey cesó la lectura de S. Lorenzo, y está aquí el Maestro.

This teacher was Urrea, an Italian by birth, who as a child had been captured by the Turks, had been brought up among them and had become secretary to the Sultan. Fleeing at length to Sicily he was there baptized and took the name Urrea from the Condesa de Alba de Aliste, daughter of the Conde de Aranda, who served as his godmother. Journeying to Spain he was given a chair of language in Alcalá,[17] being also commissioned by the King to catalogue the Arabic manuscripts of the Escorial.[18] He became a close friend of the Leonardos, and Bartolomé, writing to Llorente, says:[19]

> Quiere hazernos grandes arábigos, y es cosa estraña que tienen ellos la misma forma de poesía que nosotros, *similiter* cadencias y medidas de versos, y él, que es grande poeta, nos ha dicho algo de un libro que hizo a ciertas victorias de su primer amo.

This same Urrea was preparing a history of the Moorish dominion in Spain, according to the Arabic chronicles which he had seen in the archives of the Sultan and of the King of Mo-

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[15] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 118, letter 7.
[16] *Ibid.*, Appendix 118, letter 3.
[17] *Ibid.*, Appendix 190, letter 13.
[18] *Ibid.*, Appendix 190, letter 24.
[19] *Ibidem.*

rocco,[20] contradicting in it such Spanish historians as Jerónimo de Blancas and Juan de Mariana.[21] His aid to Lupercio must have been invaluable.

In regard to Lupercio's interest in numismatics we have only a statement of Lastanosa in his *Museo de las medallas desconocidas españolas:*[22]

> Don Miguel Leonardo de Argensola i Albión, Correo Mayor de su Magestad en el Reino de Aragón, entre las medallas de su abuelo el Secretario i Chronista Mayor Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, halló ésta,[23] la qual gozamos por su liberalidad.

The young historian without doubt had access also to the precious and rare collection of antiquities possessed by D. Martín de Aragón, brother of the Duque de Villahermosa, and his nephew, the Conde de Guimerá.[24]

We have numerous indications of the conscientious care which was used in the preparation of the *Historia general de la España Tarraconense.* Had this work been completed and preserved, it is possible that Lupercio, the historian, might have rivalled Lupercio, the poet.

The *Historia general* was begun in 1597. To the following year belongs the *Memorial que se dió a S.M. del Rey D. Phelipe segundo, contra las comedias,* the authorship of which cannot with absolute certainty be assigned to Lupercio Leonardo. On the occasion of the death of the Infanta Catalina, Duchess of Savoy and daughter of Philip II (November 6, 1597), the King commanded the theaters of Madrid to be closed;[25] and the opponents of the theater, principally churchmen, taking advantage of the opportunity thus offered, renewed their insistence that the ban be made permanent. The King submitted the matter to

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[20] *Ibid.*, letter 13.

[21] "También se burla casi de cuantos historiadores tenemos que traduzen en castellano, y uno de ellos es Blancas, que dice de *Muza* quiere decir christiano; y el Padre Mariana en mil partes." *Ibid.*, letter 24.

[22] Huesca, 1645, p. 85.

[23] *Medalla* 44, reproduced on plate 29.

[24] Lastanosa, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[25] See Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega*, New York, 1909, p. 206, ff.

three theologians, who after a long discussion decided against the theaters, with the result that on May 2, 1598, a royal rescript was issued declaring that thereafter no *comedias* should be represented. The city of Madrid prepared and printed a memorial, in which His Majesty was requested to revoke the decree; and indeed a royal edict was prepared to that effect; but the King's Confessor, fray Diego de Yepes, opposed it so strongly that in January, 1599, Philip III, influenced by him and by other guardians of the public morals, changed his mind and the edict was not promulgated.[26]

There are two problems in connection with this memorial: its attribution to Lupercio Leonardo, and, in case it is his, the motives which he may have had for writing it. The text[27] has come down to us in the *Primera parte de las excelencias de la virtud de la castidad* by fray José de Jesús María,[28] who did not give the name of its author, but who, in the words of Andrés de Ustarroz,[29]

> bastante lo manifestó al consignar que lo había compuesto un hombre de capa y espada, muy religioso en sus afectos, muy prudente en sus consejos, muy docto en todas las buenas letras humanas y no ignorante de las divinas, que conociendo por experiencia los muchos daños que recibía la República del uso de las comedias y doliéndose de la perdición de tantas almas como en ellas se inficionaban y perdían, movióse a elevar al Monarca el dicho memorial.

Ustarroz, who knew personally the grandson of Lupercio Leonardo, must have had other grounds than the mere words of fray José for attributing this memorial to the secretary of the Empress. His authority has been accepted by Dormer, Pellicer, Latassa, Fitzmaurice-Kelly and Rennert. It is possible to add now a new bit of testimony. The words quoted from fray José appear also in MS. H, 25 of the Real Academia de la Historia (fol. 128), and in the margin opposite the paragraph are written

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[26] The theaters were reopened permanently on April 16, 1599.
[27] Which may be found in Vol. I of the *Obras sueltas*, pp. 279–287.
[28] Alcalá, 1601.
[29] In the *Elogios de los chronistas de Aragón*, ms. cit., quoted by Viñaza, *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 280 n.

these words: "Es Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola como él mismo[30] lo escribe de su mano."

This evidence accepted, why should Lupercio Leonardo have composed such a document? Dr. Rennert[31] does not attempt a decision of the question. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in the 1898 edition of his *History of Spanish Literature*[32] describes Lupercio's letter as "spiteful", assuming that it grew out of the failure of his tragedies to maintain themselves on the boards and his resentment at the successes of Lope de Vega. In the Spanish edition of 1921 these statements are somewhat modified:

> Hay para hartarse de todo aquello (i.e., de carnicerías), y esto es precisamente lo que ocurrió. La boga de Argensola pasó pronto, y en 1598 pidió la supresión de la *comedia nueva* representada por Lope de Vega, petición que no fué atendida.[33]

It is hard to follow Fitzmaurice-Kelly in this interpretation. Cejador is undoubtedly more near the truth when he suggests[34] that Lupercio recognized the moribund condition of Senecan tragedy and wisely gave it up. In none of his letters that are known to us, and in none of his extant works, is there a hint that he regretted, as Cervantes did, his inability to compete with Lope. If we remember that *Alejandra* and *Isabela*, and very probably *Filis* also, together with the tragedies of Argensola's contemporaries, "were composed solely for the sake of the long disquisitions on moral subjects" which they contained,[35] the problem at once disappears. The Spanish stage was a very different thing in 1598 from what it had been fifteen years earlier; and whereas Lupercio once looked upon the theater as a means of purifying the public morals,[36] it now seemed to him,

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[30] Fray José de Jesús María.
[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 261.
[32] New York, pp. 175–6. See also his *Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, pp. 192–193.
[33] *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1921, p. 177. The last phrase quoted is, as has been seen, not entirely correct.
[34] *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, Vol III, Madrid, 1915, p. 253.
[35] J. P. W. Crawford, *Notes on the Tragedies of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola*, in *Romanic Review*, Vol. V (1914), p. 31.
[36] Cf. the *prólogo* to *Isabela* (*Obras sueltas*, I, p. 49) and the final scene of *Alejandra*. (*Ibid.*, pp. 274–275)

and not without reason, an instrument of the devil. "With the increasing numbers of strolling players the growing license of the stage had kept pace."[37] New and lascivious dances, like the "pestiferous" *Zarabanda*, had made their appearance since the relatively simple days that saw the representation of *Isabela* and *Alejandra*. And it was against these new abuses that Lupercio inveighed:

> Y este abuso de las comedias es muy nuevo en España, pues agora treinta años apenas las había, y eran entonces con tan gran moderación, así en la materia como en el hábito y personas, y raras veces, y en casas privadas, etc.[38]

His main argument is directed against the excesses committed by men infatuated with actresses. An example is the case of Bernarda Ramírez, who, although married to Bartolomé de Robles, was forcibly abducted by don Jerónimo López, Duque de San Pedro, as she was about to return from Naples to Spain with the company of Figueroa, and was taken to Benevento, where she lived some years with her captor, bearing him two children.[39] Though this occurred some forty years after the writing of Lupercio's letter, it may yet be taken as typical of the moral condition of the theater; and the statement that it voices the resentment of Lupercio for failure in the drama is not justified by the facts.

The last years of Lupercio's stay at Court are marked by his correspondence with two great scholars, Juan de Mariana and Justus Lipsius. The letters to the former deal with an historical controversy which three centuries have not been able to settle. The first letter[40] is dated at Saragossa[41] August 15, 1602, and points out the insufficiency of the grounds upon which Ambrosio de Morales[42] had asserted that the early Christian poet, Aurelius

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[37] Rennert, *op. cit.*, p. 206 ff.
[38] *Obras sueltas*, I, 286–287.
[39] E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1916, p. 38ff.
[40] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–58.
[41] Where it is probable that Lupercio's presence was required by the lawsuit referred to in the second letter to Lipsius, Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
[42] Mariana's authority for a similar statement, *Historia de España*, Book X, Chapter 20.

Prudentius Clemens, was a native of Calahorra[43] rather than of Saragossa, and asks that the singer of Saragossa's martyrs be restored to the city for which he showed throughout his hymns a filial affection.

Mariana replied a week later, admitting that the arguments and authorities adduced by Lupercio were of sufficient weight to have caused him to suspend his judgment had the matter been brought to his attention sooner; but at the same time defending the opposite side as the less improbable, showing wherein Lupercio's statements were inconclusive. This letter reached Madrid some time before Lupercio's return, and in his absence a letter was written by Bartolomé Leonardo[44] to a person not named, in which the status of the matter is summed up and some new evidence is brought forward in favor of Saragossa. It appears also that Bartolomé prepared an answer to Mariana, for Lupercio writes upon his return to the capital:[45]

> Porque en mi ausencia entiendo que mi hermano ha replicado a Vuestra Paternidad, y donde él pone la mano no es menester que otro satisfaga, responderé brevemente a su carta de Vuestra Paternidad.

In the following paragraphs he answers the objections of the author of the *Historia latina* point by point, repeating his former conclusions.

All those who discuss the question have to base their conjectures on the words of Prudentius in his hymns, and chiefly on his use of the word *noster*. Mariana stated the problem exactly:[46]

> Dos veces llama a Zaragoza *nostra* en el hymno de los diez y ocho mártyres de Zaragoza. . . Otras dos da a Calahorra este mismo apellido . . . Así que no parece que tenga más fuerza en favor de Zaragoza, para hacerla patria de Prudencio aquella palabra *nostra*, que en favor de Calahorra para lo mismo.

Lupercio attempted to explain away the application of *nostra* to Calahorra, and so well did he succeed that the Conde de la

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[43] *Crónica general de España*, Book X, Chapter 41.
[44] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–71.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 71–74; without date.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61.

Viñaza, in his critical and biographical study of the Latin poet,[47] drew heavily upon his letters and concluded:

> Zaragozano fué sin duda alguna aquel grande ingenio; por zaragozano es tenido en el juicio de casi todos los modernos críticos; españoles y aragoneses fueron sus ascendientes, y en Zaragoza pasó su infancia y recibió su primera educación intelectual.[48]

But the modern critics are far from unanimous. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* leaves the matter in doubt; the *Britannica* gives the preference to a third city, Tarragona; Cejador[49] to Calahorra; Hurtado and Palencia[50] to Saragossa. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*[51] leaves the question where Mariana had left it in 1602:

> He was born . . . somewhere in the North of Spain, either at Saragossa, Tarragona or Calahorra, but at which is left uncertain, by his applying the same expression to all, which if applied only to one would have fixed his place of birth.

The letters reveal on both sides much erudition, much courtesy, and a sincere desire to reach the truth. For these reasons they were praised by D. Tomás Tamayo de Vargas[52] as models of literary controversy.

It is natural that Lupercio should have desired to communicate with Justus Lipsius. Lipsius had, in 1574, established a new text of Tacitus, proposing 530 new readings, of which 435 have been accepted as definitive, and it was undoubtedly this text that Lupercio used in the preparation of his translation;[53]

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[47] *Aurelio Prudencio Clemente, estudio biográfico-crítico, discurso leído . . . en el certamen literario celebrado en Zaragoza con motivo del Jubileo sacerdotal de S. S. León XIII*, Madrid, 1888.

[48] *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

[49] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 94.

[50] *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1921, p. 13.

[51] London, 1915, p. 914.

[52] *Defensa de la Historia del P. Juan de Mariana*, p. 231 ff. Quoted by Pellicer.

[53] For Lipsius see *Biographie Nationale, publiée par l'Académie Royale . . . de Belgique*, Vol. XII, Brussels, 1892–1893, article *Lipse*.

and Lipsius had been a fellow student of Andreas Schott in the University of Louvain. Under the latter's instruction Lupercio had sat in the University of Saragossa, and his name appears once in this correspondence.[54] Lupercio himself writes:

> Multa ab amicis tuis audivi; sed illis tacentibus, quos edis persuadent libri, ex quibus ego multa commoda excerpsi moribus, ingenio.[55]

Taking advantage, therefore, of the presence in Flanders of his friend D. Nuño de Mendoza, at that time an officer in the Spanish army, and later made Count of Valle do Reis,[56] Lupercio obtained through him an introduction to the learned humanist.

The first letter[57] serves more fully to introduce the writer to Lipsius, and expresses the hope of seeing the result of Lipsius' efforts in his new position as historiographer to Philip II in the Low Countries. Thereupon he comes to the real point of his letter. He himself is a royal historiographer;[58] he fears to write of contemporary events in such troublous times, and is trying to decide between the present and the past. If he were free from family ties he would gladly go to Louvain to seek the advice of Lipsius.[59] He then introduces his brothers, who send their greetings through him, and asks to be included among Lipsius' correspondents.

The answer of Lipsius[60] is full of appreciation of the talents of his new friend; expresses regret because of the ravages of the wars in Flanders; and advises the new *scriptor regius* to avoid

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[54] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[56] See the *tercetos* of Bartolomé Leonardo, *Dizesme, Nuño, que en la Corte quieres, Rimas*, 1634, p. 234, and in the Index.

[57] Madrid, July 15, 1602. Text given by Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–76.

[58] He received this appointment in 1599. See the next chapter of this study.

[59] Nam et ego Scriptor sum Regius; sed adhuc portum teneo, ac mihi cum navigandum Pacifico vel Mortuo mari cursus agetur: ubi, etsi nubes et tenebrae, nulla naufragia. Tamen horreo iratum mare vivum et vivorum, ubi amor, odium, adulatio, Manes veritatem terrent. Vellem te Ulysse sapientissimo uti, ut me exemplo tuo doceres fugare has Syrenas, has Caribdas, hos Poliphemos. Redeo ad initium. Ita te, Lipsi, amo, ut liber si essem (uxorem habeo, pater sum, expertus scis quale hoc iugum) hinc irem ad te visendum, mihique Edetano essent Lovanium et Lipsius, quod Gaditano illi Roma et Livius. (Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 75)

[60] Louvain, Aug. 29, 1602. For text see Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–77.

the dangerous seas of the present: "Ad nostrum istud Arctoum [mare] si venis, pericula sunt, et nec Ulysses tuto naviget . . . Tuta, tuta, id est vetera."[61]

Lupercio in his second letter[62] compares with the devastation of Flanders by war the mental and moral apathy of Spain: "Virtuti vale diximus, luxus et pecuniae vilia mancipia sumus." Yet there are a few who are not unknown to the Muses, and among them Lupercio mentions Dr. Bartolomé Llorente, Canon in the Church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, "theologus, latino graecoque sermone peritissimus"; Dr. Bartolomé Morlanes, a priest in the same Church "magnum ingenium virtutibus aequans"; Gabriel Álvarez, an Augustinian and a distinguished scholar in theology, Hebrew, Greek and Latin; and Dr. Domingo de Vengochea, a judge in the *Real Audiencia*, whom also Lipsius knew through correspondence.[63] The rest of the letter is devoted to Lupercio's son Gabriel, whose interest in scholarship and in Lipsius so greatly delighted his father. After making these introductions, the letter ends:

> Hos igitur ad te duco amicos, dexterasque iniungo sancta ac non violanda fide . . . Ama nos, doctissime, et si vacaverit, per te vel per alios fac nos certiores valetudinis tuae. . .

The reply[64] is brief, being little more than an acknowledgment of Lupercio's letter, and there follows a long break in the correspondence. Lupercio writes in April, 1605, acknowledging a third letter from Lipsius which has not been preserved, and explaining that sickness had kept him from answering. He has read, he says, Lipsius' recent publications on Seneca, on physiology, on the Vestals and on the Saints of Halle; and he asks a

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[61] This same advice was passed on *verbatim* by Lupercio to D. Luis de Bavia, author of the *Tercera Parte de la Historia Pontifical y católica*, Madrid, 1606, in regard to the advisability of writing the history of the Pontificate of Clement VIII during the latter's lifetime. See letter of Lupercio to Bavia pub. by Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 120.

[62] Saragossa, Dec. 1, 1602. For text see Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–79.

[63] For the lives and works of these men see the *Bibliotecas* of Latassa. Álvarez, who was born in Oropesa, is not included. He wrote: *Vida del P. Gaspar Loarte*, *Historia provinciae Aragoniae*, a commentary on Isaiah, etc. See the *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* of Espasa, Vol. IV, article *Álvarez*.

[64] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–82.

favor which shows that he was still working on his political and ecclesiastical history of ancient Aragon, seeking material from all possible sources. In a book entitled *De Litteris et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum*, edited by Bonaventura Vulcanius, friend of Lipsius, Lupercio had seen a fragment of a poem in German in praise of St. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne; and wishing to complete his knowledge in regard to the missions and the journeys of all the apostles, he asked that Vulcanius supply him with the full text, together with a Latin translation and notes on the German author of the poem.[65]

Whether Lipsius answered this letter is not known, for he died in 1606; and what might have proved to be a very scholarly correspondence was cut off in its very beginnings. Lipsius does not seem to have exercised an influence on Lupercio as he did upon Quevedo,[66] who first wrote to him at the age of twenty-four. As the letters stand, their significance is not great. Lipsius was very free in the bestowal of his praise, and the epistolary courtesies exchanged between him and Lupercio could easily be taken too literally. Yet the fact remains that Lipsius was one of the most learned men of his generation; that he maintained a correspondence not only with professors, scholars and former pupils, but also with cardinals, magistrates, nobles and princes; that persons of the highest rank sought his friendship and gave evidence of their high regard for him.[67] That Lupercio considered it an honor to be included in the company of his friends is made clear by Lupercio himself, who began his second letter to Lipsius with these words:

I received your letter. . .not at Madrid, whither it was sent, but at

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[65] The *De Litteris et lingua Getarum* is very rare and I have not been able to see a copy. Lupercio is obviously seeking material for the history of Aragon during the Gothic period, although Anno can scarcely have interested him. See *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, New York, 1908, Vol. I. Lupercio's own words follow: "Est mihi opus pluscula carmina legere, in quibus de misione et peregrinatione omnium apostolorum agitur, ubi fragmentum Vulcanius obtruncavit" (Pellicer, p. 82). Lupercio was especially interested in the supposed preaching of St. James in Spain.

[66] E. Mérimée, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Francisco de Quevedo*, Paris, 1886, pp. 22–23.

[67] *Biographie Nationale* (de Belgique), *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, cols. 276–277.

Saragossa, where I am required to follow the progress of a family lawsuit; and because of the delay it was all the more acceptable to me. For it is most pleasant to be honored in one's own city, with one's fellow citizens looking on, especially when the honors come from you.

And in his second discourse before the literary academy in Saragossa, he says, speaking of the benefits of history:

Muchos [libros] podría referir, mas sólo quiero nombrar los de Justo Lipsio, por honrar su memoria y honrarme, diciendo que, sin haberme visto, fué familiar amigo mío (*fide antiqua*) como él me dice en una carta.[68]

The correspondence with Lipsius, together with the instruction of Schott, must have tended to free Lupercio from the provincialism of so many of his countrymen, and to give him a European outlook.

At the time when Lupercio wrote his last letter to Lipsius, Mary of Austria had died, and Lupercio was no longer living at Court. But before following him to Saragossa it is necessary to go back some years and study another phase of his life at Madrid.

[68] *Obras sueltas*, Vol. I, pp. 319–320.

VIII

Historiographer to the King

In September of 1598 Philip the Second died.[1] The change of ruler, so often disastrous to the courtier, marks for Lupercio a period of increased activity. Almost immediately upon the accession of Philip III, he addressed to the *Consejo de Aragón* a memorial, pointing out that although the King had royal historiographers for Castile and for the Indies, since the days of Ferdinand the Catholic there had been no historiographer for the Kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon, and asking that he be appointed in this capacity.[2] On November 26, 1598, the Council presented to the King the substance of this petition,[3] recommending that the new office be created, and expressing confidence in the ability of Lupercio Leonardo to fill it worthily, "por ser natural de Aragón, y concurrir en él bondad, ingenio y letras humanas, de todo lo qual tiene opinión entre los que le conocen, y el Consejo mucha satisfacción de su persona." It was further suggested that the title be granted temporarily without stipend "hasta ver cómo probará y se gouernará en ello."

To all this Philip answered, on the back of the document, the one word "Assí", and the appointment was officially made on January 15, 1599, on which day the Secretary, Agustín de Vllanueva, drew up the Latin text of the royal decree.[4] In this

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[1] Lupercio printed at his own expense the funeral sermon preached by his friend, Dr. Aguilar Terrones. See Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and also a letter of Bartolomé Leonardo to Llorente, Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 26. This sermon was printed in 1601, without any mention of its having been printed before, in the collection of *Sermones funerales, en las honras del Rey nuestro Señor don Felipe II . . . recogidos por Ivan Iñiguez de Lequerica, impressor de libros, Anno M.DCI, En Madrid . . .*, pp. 20–40.

[2] This position must be clearly distinguished from that of *Cronista del Reyno de Aragón*, established at the *Cortes* of Monzón, 1547, and held successively by Jerónimo Zurita, Jerónimo de Blancas, Juan Costa, Jerónimo Martel and Lupercio Leonardo (1608). The holder of this position was responsible only to the *Diputación* of the Kingdom.

[3] Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Barcelona, *Consejo de Aragón*, Leg. I. This paper was discovered and shown to me by don Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, Secretary in this Archive.

[4] A copy is found in the Real Academia de la Historia, *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 114 ff.

document it is stated that Lupercio Leonardo[5] was to enjoy all the rewards and prerogatives commonly belonging to the position of Chief Historiographer; that he was to redact the history of all noteworthy events occurring in the Kingdom, composing a book entitled *Preeminencias Reales*, noting especially the personal services rendered by the Aragonese to the King in times of peace and war; that he should examine all the works which should be written by other historians of the Kingdom, subjecting them to his censorship; and that all ministers of the King in Aragon, from the least to the greatest, should, under penalty of the King's indignation and a fine of one thousand gold florins, regard Lupercio Leonardo as His Majesty's chronicler, and should, on occasion, furnish him with all histories and documents which might be needed by him in the performance of his duties. A postscript to this document says that on January 23 Lupercio Leonardo appeared personally before Diego de Covarrubias, Counsellor to His Majesty and Vice Chancellor of the Kingdom of Aragon, and swore upon the cross and four gospels that he would conduct himself faithfully and according to law in his new position.

The title of Royal Historiographer carried with it also that of Counsellor to the King in the Supreme Council of Aragon, which was composed of six royal ministers: the Vice Chancellor, the Treasurer General, the Attorney General, the Prothonotary, and two secretaries.[6] Andrés de Ustarroz[7] relates a curious detail:

> Luego que entró [Lupercio] en el Consejo, tubo competencia con los Secretarios porque pretendió que havía de sentarse después del Fiscal, precediéndoles; hubo sobre esto consultas, y por estar los papeles en el Archivo de Barcelona, no podemos referir la resolución que se tomó, y no se duda que sería conforme al empleo, pues por ser nueba creación de oficio, no había de ser posterior, sino preheminente.

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[5] It appears that there were other applicants: "Cogitantesque cui offitium praedictum tuto credere et commendare possimus, inter alios qui se ad id obtulerunt, visum est nobis te, dilectum Lupercium Leonardo de Argensola . . . caeteris praeferre."

[6] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[7] *Progresos de la Historia en el Reino de Aragón*, ms. cit., Chap. V.

On May 19, 1600, the Council again wrote to Philip, saying that Lupercio Leonardo had presented a second memorial, asking that he be assigned a salary equal to that of the Historiographer of the Indies, who received four hundred ducats a year, an apartment in which to live, and an appropriation to provide for assistants; or, failing this, that he be given some reward corresponding to the character of the work and the dignity of the office, "que ha un año que le sirve, y ha trauajado mucho en preparar la materia de la historia."[8] The members of the *Consejo* go on to say that they had examined the work of Lupercio, and believed that his history would prove to be good, interesting and useful to those who sought definite information in regard to the service of the Crown in the Kingdoms of Aragon. They do not go so far, however, as to recommend that his salary be made equal to that of the Chronicler of the Indies, but suggest that he be given two hundred ducats yearly from the treasury of the Kingdom of Aragon.

To this the king replied:[9] "Pues sabéis cómo se le dió, no se trata de hacer novedad en esto." This is an evident reference to the terms of the appointment:

> Cum omnibus et singulis salariis, iuribus, lucris et emolumentis, praerogativis, gratiis, privilegiis, franquitatibus, libertatibus, praeeminentiis, immunitatibus, honoribusque et oneribus, quae, et quibus caeteri historiographi maiores aliorum Regnorum nostrorum percipere utique et gaudere ac subjici consuerunt, potuerunt, et debuerunt usquequaque.

There is no room for doubt. Although the new Historiographer served a year's probation, in view of the first recommendation of the *Consejo*, he was put on a level with those who discharged similar duties for Castile and for the Indies.

Nothing more is known in regard to this history which was in preparation in the years 1599 and 1600. When Lupercio wrote to Lipsius in 1602 he had undoubtedly brought this work down at least to the reign of Philip II, perhaps to the years 1591–1592,

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[8] Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, *Consejo de Aragón*, Leg. I. Document discovered by don Ernesto Martínez Ferrando.

[9] On the back of the document.

and feared to proceed with it, lest he meet shipwreck on the angry sea of the living, where love, hate, adulation, and even the spirit of the dead, terrified the truth.[10] This is the last reference to it; the book of the *Preeminencias Regias* is another of the lost works of Lupercio Leonardo.

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[10] See the letter to Lipsius, Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–76.

IX

Monzalbarba and Saragossa, 1603–1610

On February 22, 1603, the Empress María died, and her funeral services were held on the 18th and 19th of the following month.[1] At these services Lupercio Leonardo was present, and it was he who composed her Latin epitaph; but he realized that his official connection with the Court was at an end.[2] The Empress before her death had recommended to the King various persons in her service, and Lupercio had also "otros persuasores", but his hopes of receiving new favors were not great. He at once sent his wife to Saragossa in order that he might undertake unencumbered any new responsibilities that might come to him; and also with the idea that, in case his hopes were not realized, his return would be less bitter if she were already there.[3]

Nothing came of the Empress' recommendations, and by July 26th Lupercio, having first gone to Saragossa,[4] was established in his country home in Monzalbarba, a suburb located on the bank of the Ebro an hour's walk from the city.[5] This retreat he describes to Lipsius as, "a not unpleasant suburb, a charming countryside, almost a part of the city, boasting a church[6] and the homes of a number of well-to-do citizens." His enthusiasm for Monzalbarba he also expressed in verse, writing to Dr. Domingo de Vengochea[7],

> Alivio fué venir a nuestra aldea,
> que cual ella no pienso que hay ninguna.
> Porque si, ausente, la ciudad desea

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[1] An account of the *exequias* is given in Ms. 11773 of the Biblioteca Nacional. Neither Leonardo is mentioned in it.

[2] See Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 118, letter 11. The text of the epitaph is given there.

[3] See the letter referred to in note 2.

[4] See the beginning of the third letter to Lipsius, Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[5] See Viñaza, *op. cit.*, Appendix 118, letter 12.

[6] For the rededication of this church in 1601 Lupercio composed a Latin inscription giving its history.

[7] *Obras sueltas*, Vol. I, pp. 21–22.

el que huye della, la tendrá en una hora,
como quien por el campo se pasea.
Pues el camino, ¿es malo? Si Pandora
tuvo patria, ésta fué, porque el deseo
aquí, con la experiencia, se mejora, etc.

Here at last (though in spite of himself) Lupercio had a chance to enjoy that opportunity for study for which he expressed a longing so frequently in his verses. Indeed, even before the death of the Empress, he had employed himself during his stays in Saragossa in the most intense study under the direction of Dr. Bartolomé Llorente,[8] to the extent that his health suffered. In January, 1603, Bartolomé Leonardo had written from Madrid to Llorente:[9]

No es posible que mi hermano esté tan sobre los libros y tan de veras como Vm. dize, sino movido del exemplo del huésped; y assí lo mejor sería purgar al amo . . . Vm., pues, se temple, y estará bueno mi hermano.

But a break was coming, and sometime between the end of July and the end of December he was taken with an illness which brought him very near to death and left him an invalid for many months. On December 27, 1603,[10] he wrote from Monzalbarba to Llorente:

Mi enfermedad me tiene de manera que no puedo andar sólo un paso sin que me lleven dos, y de las manos estoy tan impedido como lo dice la letra: en suma, aunque sin peligro eminente, estoy de manera que no puedo ser contado entre los vivos, a lo menos entre los útiles en el mundo.

To Lipsius he wrote over a year later (April 13, 1605):

I escaped, not to health, but to torment. I lost the use of feet, hands and tongue, and worst of all, my head reeled. I took all the medicines of Arabia, was bled to the point of unconsciousness, and on me were used all manner of

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[8] Probably in connection with the ecclesiastical part of his *Historia general de la España Tarraconense*. See the correspondence with Llorente.
[9] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 37.
[10] *Ibid.*, Appendix 118, letter 13.

ointments. In short, for nearly two years I suffered in that inferno . . . Now I am my old self, and am sending a letter to Lipsius, whom I love and esteem, and whose congratulations I hope to receive.[11]

Painful as this convalescence was, Lupercio was yet able to work and travel in the year 1604. Toward the end of that year he had made a trip to Granada, and on December first he wrote to D. Luis de Bavia, Chaplain of His Majesty in the Royal Chapel at Granada, in answer to the latter's request that he express his opinion of the city:

"Generalmente me pareció insigne ciudad, fértil y deleitosa su vega, la gente amable por su virtud y singular maestría . . . aunque no negaré que algunas cosas me parecían menores que su fama, señaladamente las que había leído en una carta de Andrea Navajero, porque en la materia y en el arte las hallé diferentes de como las pinta a sus Venecianos."[12]

This letter was written from Saragossa. It was probably about this same time that he completed a task which the Deputies of that city had set him before his illness. The revolts of 1591, and the various interpretations that were made of them, never ceased to be a thorn in the flesh to the Aragonese. A number of writers in Castile and in foreign countries had written of them in a way not relished by the inhabitants of the *fidelísimo reino*, and so strong was the feeling of the Deputies that fray Jerónimo de Aldovera y Monsalve was sent to Madrid to secure if possible the suppression of such books as were unfair to Aragon. But his efforts were of no avail and he wrote from Madrid:

Se halla grande dificultad; porque los libros estrangeros su Magestad no puede impedir su impresión; de los de Castilla tampoco se puede hacer prohibición sin parecer del Consejo Real. Todos los graves personages que he tratado sobre esto, concluyen que el mejor medio es que algún hombre erudito, o algunos, escribiesen una Apología en latín contra estos libros, para que siempre hablase a favor de nuestra fidelidad.[13]

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[11] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[12] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 120, *ad init.*
[13] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20.

The person chosen to vindicate the honor of the Kingdom was Lupercio Leonardo, who, as soon as his health permitted, handed to the Deputies the manuscript of his *Información de los sucesos de Aragón en los años de 1590 y 1591 en que se advierte los yerros de algunos autores*. It was not written in Latin, as is evident from the title, yet its whole purpose was to make clear to the outsider exactly what happened in Aragon. It was composed under the greatest difficulties, for in addition to those involved in the nature of the subject, the author lacked both the strength to put his best effort into it, and the time to bring it to the perfection he desired. He excuses himself with these words:

> También yo en mi nombre pido y espero el mismo perdón por las infinitas faltas que en esta relación se hallarán; y (por dar más causas que su benignidad al letor) quiero alegar la brevedad del tiempo en que se ha escrito, que ha sido en quince días, algunos dellos estando en la cama con muchos accidentes, que trae consigo la convalecencia de una larga y peligrosa enfermedad que he tenido, y se interpuso entre el mandamiento de los diputados y mi execución, y así como voto pagué mi deuda con fuerzas débiles.[14]

The work yet remains "one of the best historical monographs which Spanish literature can boast,"[15] and the fact that it was not published until two centuries later was due entirely to political conditions. As later events proved, no history, true or false, of those unfortunate events could be satisfactory to all those who had been involved in them. Lupercio's position was especially difficult in that he was a salaried minister of the King whose father had beheaded the *Justicia*, being at the same time in the employ of the Deputies and a partisan of the liberties of the aristocracy of Aragon. The result was that he entered upon his task with the realization that in regard to these liberties he must be both firm and cautious, and with the fear, which proved to be justified, that his *Información* would be to him a cause of trouble.[16]

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[14] Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, *Información de los sucesos de Aragón en los años 1590 y 1591*, Madrid, 1808, p. 231.

[15] Duque de Villahermosa, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[16] See the Duque de Villahermosa, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17 and 22–24; Viñaza, *Discurso;* and Vicente de la Fuente, *Estudios críticos sobre la historia y el derecho de Aragón*, 3a. serie, Madrid, 1886, p. 355.

This monograph was completed in the incredibly short time of two weeks, and was handed to the Deputies who at once turned it over to Dr. Juan Francisco Torralba,[17] *Regente de la Cancillería*, in order that he might give the license for its publication. This he did, but only after adding in various places copious notes, in which are observable two tendencies: first, to dwell unduly on the part of Torralba, as lieutenant of the *Justicia*, in the famous *sucesos*, and second, to emphasize the changes made in the laws of the Kindgom after the *Cortes* of Tarazona in 1592. Lupercio was offended, and being unwilling that the work thus emended should appear bearing his name, and realizing also that what he had written could not be published without offense to many,[18] he recovered the original and thereafter refused to give it up, although the Deputies of the following year desired to print it.

In this he was undoubtedly wise. "Los tiempos andaban difíciles para escribir historia, y Lupercio, que no tenía vocación de mártir, se abstuvo de hacerlo, o, por lo menos, de dar a la estampa el breve, aunque precioso, fruto de sus trabajos."[19] We shall see in a later chapter the disaster which came, unjustly, upon the regular chroniclers of the Kingdom as a result of their treatment of these events; and even in the year 1625, when it would seem that individual passion had had ample time to cool, the Deputies, who had commissioned Bartolomé Leonardo to write his *Alteraciones populares de Zaragoza*, upon examining the first and introductory part, ordered him to discontinue it and devote himself to other matters.[20]

Lupercio's *Información* was, however, highly esteemed. It has

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[17] Whom Cerbuna had chosen in 1583 to teach canon law in the University of Saragossa.

[18] As Lupercio himself says in the note which he wrote on the back of the title page of the original, and which appears as a preface to the edition of 1808.

[19] Duque de Villahermosa, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[20] This *Primera parte* was reported as lost by the Duque de Villahermosa and the Conde de la Viñaza. A copy exists in the Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 12985. The complete title is *Alteraciones populares de Zaragoza, Año 1591, por el Dr. Bartholomé Leonardo de Argensola, Canónigo de la Santa Igla. Metropolitana de Zaragoza en la Corona de Aragón, Chronista del Rey nuestro Señor, y en Aragón del mismo Reyno. Todo va sugeto a la censura y corrección de la Santa Madre Iglesia, y de los varones zelosos, y sabios.*

been seen that the Deputies in 1605 made a second attempt to print it. In 1614, one year after Lupercio's death, a letter was written by the Deputies to his son Gabriel, asking that, in accordance with various letters which they had written previously, he deliver to the Archive of the Kingdom the papers upon which his father had been working in his capacity of chronicler, and specifying particularly this report:

También sabemos que escribió vn libro en defensa de la fidelidad deste Reyno . . ., y aunque se a dicho quedó vna copia dél en el Archiuo del Reyno . . ., no se halla en él, y así gustaremos mucho de que a nuestra costa se saque vna copia dél y se nos imbíe, que daremos orden de que a costa del Reyno se imprima, que grande corrimiento es que hablando tantos estranjeros y aun naturales de España tan mal contra nuestra fidelidad (y con tanta innorancia de lo que pasó que arguien malicia) no aya quien les respondiese.[21]

The Deputies of 1617 were still interested in the work and ordered the payment to Lupercio's widow of all the money which was due her husband,

atendido que el dicho Lupercio Leonardo escribió el quaderno que por parte de la dicha heredera se auía entregado acerca de los sucesos acaescidos en este Reyno el año 1591.[22]

And don Miguel Leonardo de Argensola y de Albión, Lupercio's grandson, wrote in 1651 to Andrés de Ustarroz:

Esto lo digo para que no se amohine, y siga el exemplo de mi agüelo, que dexó de imprimir los *Sucesos del año 91* por no sugetarse a las notas del Regente Torralba; pero no por esto ha dexado de correr el papel entre los curiosos, ni él perdió la gloria que se trabaxó en aquel trabaxo.[23]

The *Información* of Lupercio was used by don Luis de Bavia as the basis for that part of his *Historia eclesiástica y pontifical* which treats of the uprisings in Aragón; and so pleased were the Deputies with don Luis' account that they not only thanked

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[21] Real Academia de la Historia, *Ms. H*, 25, fol. 131.
[22] *Ibid.*, fols. 100 verso and 101.
[23] Biblioteca Nacional, *Ms. 8391*, fol. 518.

him by letter, but voted him a certain amount of money for this service to the Kingdom. This fact is established by a memorial prepared in 1619 by Bartolomé Leonardo, who adds: "Y es cosa certíssima que todo lo que aquel historiador escribió es del Secretario Lupercio, designios o fragmentos de sus papeles."[24]

For the years immediately following 1604, and previous to 1607, we are without documents, except for the letter to Lipsius (1605) in which, as has been shown, Lupercio asks for material to be used apparently in the writing of his *Historia de la España Tarraconense.* While these years were certainly devoted to historical research,[25] time was also given to the less austere Muses. A sonnet[26] and a *canción*[27] were sent before 1611 to D. Juan Antonio Calderón, who included them in the *Segunda parte de las Flores de poetas ilustres*, although attributing the latter wrongly to Bartolomé Leonardo; and to this period belongs undoubtedly the poem read by Lupercio as president of a poetical contest in honor of the Holy Sacrament.[28] There are preserved also two dissertations[29] pronounced by the elder Leonardo before a literary academy of Saragossa after 1606.[30]

The number of literary academies in Saragossa at the beginning of the seventeenth century was large, and the literary life in the ancient capital was especially flourishing. The Conde de las Viñaza[31] mentions the *Pítima de la Ociosidad*, the *Academia de los Anhelantes*, the Academy founded by the Príncipe de Esquilache, that of the Conde de Aranda and that of the Conde de Lemos. To any of these, says Viñaza, Lupercio might have belonged, and indeed he might easily have been associated with one of the last three because of the friendship of the Leonardos with the houses of Esquilache, Aranda and Lemos. His name

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[24] *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 356.
[25] The *Historia* referred to was well under way by 1608, as Lupercio himself says in his letter to the Deputies, Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–34.
[26] *Antes que Ceres conmutase el fruto*, *Rimas*, p. 21.
[27] *Alivia sus fatigas*, *Rimas*, p. 5.
[28] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 26–28.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 309–326.
[30] Lipsius is referred to as dead.
[31] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 310, n.

was not mentioned, however, in a *vejamen* given by Juan Lorenzo Ibáñez de Aoiz[32] in the Academy of the Conde de Aranda;[33] and Viñaza adds:

No falta, sin embargo, quien diga, como mera conjetura, que probablemente sería en la *Academia de los Anhelantes* en la que pronunció el mayor del los Leonardos estos discursos.[34]

The supposition that Lupercio belonged to this Academy perhaps borders on fact in view of the following sentence taken from the *Panegírico de la poesía y la doctrina del Doctor Angélico Santo Thomás de Aquino, Patrón de la Academia de los Anhelantes de Zaragoza*:[35]

¿Quién contará en España los [poetas] de la [Academia] de la Selvagia en la Corte, de los Nocturnos en Valencia, de los Hosuenses en Aragón (a quien bastó su mismo nombre), de los Augustos (Anelantes), a quien no bastó, pues no igualó ninguno a la fama de los dos Leonardos, gloria de toda Iberia?

It is certain, however, that Lupercio was not a member of the Academy before which these discourses were pronounced. It seems to have been a group recently organized, the members of which, realizing their inexperience, requested Lupercio to outline their activities and give them, if not a constitution, at least a charter; for he begins the speech of the *Día segundo*[36] with these words:

Hoy es el útlimo día de los que vuesas mercedes mandaron que yo presidiese en esta Academia, honrándome tanto que, no siendo de ella, quisieron que la ordenase y dirigiese. Poco tuve que hacer en esto, porque sólo con informarme de lo que vuesas mercedes habían hecho entonces y ponerlo (como lo puse) por escrito, quedó ordenado lo que se debía hacer de allí en

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[32] Whom Lupercio named in 1595 to take his place as *notario extracto de la Diputación.*

[33] See the second volume of the *Memorias literarias de Aragón*, ms. in 4° by D. Felix Latassa, pp. 241–243, section 8. This book is in the Biblioteca Provincial de Huesca and was shown me by D. Ricardo del Arco.

[34] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 310, n.

[35] *Memorias literarias de Aragón*, ms. cit., Vol. II, p. 252 ff.

[36] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 317–326.

adelante. Si acerté en aquel discurso, mandaránle vuesas mercedes leer cuando les pareciere renovar la memoria, y a lo menos no admitan ningún académico sin que sepa lo que contiene.

That the Academy was not well known at that time is evidenced by the following bit of advice, also from the second speech (p. 322):

Sea un concurso honesto y una conversación varia, en la cual no menos se ha de evitar el tratar del gobierno público presente, que la murmuración del amigo o del vecino, porque, como dice aquel filósofo, *Nec silentium tutum est a calumnia* . . . De esta verdad tenemos experiencia, porque los señores Virrey y Justicia de Aragón, mal informados, hablaban de esta junta aplicándole ciertos versos y libelos, y que aquí se censuraba el gobierno público. Quisieron saber de mí la verdad; y como tiene tanta fuerza, no solamente perdieron esta opinión, pero alabando lo que aquí se hace, creen que la República tiene en vuesas mercedes defensores de la virtud. . .

In 1607 Lupercio's position as Royal Historiographer involved him in the prosecution of Jerónimo Martel which resulted in the latter's removal from office and Lupercio's appointment to succeed him as Chronicler of the Kingdom, as will be shown in another chapter. Of immediate interest is Lupercio's part in the preparation of the *Mapa de Aragón*, made by the King's cosmographer, Juan Bautista Labaña. Perhaps because of the failure of his *Información* to appear in print, and certainly moved by the desire to make known the glory of Aragon both in Spain and in foreign countries,[37] he conceived the idea of having engraved a map of Aragon, the margins of which should bear in Latin and in Castilian a compendium of the history of this ancient Kingdom—a map which should be

el más curioso que hasta ahora se ha visto, pues con él solo se hará capaz el que le leyere de toda la historia de Aragón; hallará en un momento cualquier

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[37] Bartolomé Leonardo writes, referring to his brother: "Buscando diversos modos para que se propagaran las memorias de este Reino . . . trató con los señores Diputados que se formase un Mapa de Aragón." *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 353.

lugar que buscare; sabrá si es ciudad, villa o aldea, y también de qué diócesis o jurisdicción y en qué altura está.[38]

In 1607[39] he interested the Deputies in this project, and they gave him power to proceed with its execution. The person best qualified to make the survey and prepare the map was the Portuguese Juan Bautista Labaña, Royal Historiographer for Portugal and Chief Cosmographer to the King. Lupercio, who was frequently in Madrid in 1608 and 1609, persuaded him to accept the commission. On March 9, 1610, Lupercio appeared before the Deputies of Aragon as Labaña's attorney, and at this time a contract was drawn up whereby Labaña was to make a personal survey of the territory and prepare, with the greatest scientific precision, a map of the same size as the one of Catalonia which had been printed in Amsterdam, bearing on its margins the historical description of the Kingdom by Lupercio Leonardo. For this service Labaña was to receive 2500 ducats, out of which 2000 reals were to be given to Lupercio for preparing the description. The cost of Labaña's field work was to be met by the Kingdom.[40]

Labaña did his work in the fall of 1610 and the winter of 1611, but before completing it he was obliged to return to Madrid. From there he wrote to the Deputies that by supplementing his own notes with the description which had been made of the Pyrenees at the time of the disturbances of 1591, and with certain other information which he asked to be sent him, he hoped to complete the map, although not within the time set by the contract. The Deputies accordingly appointed the Jesuit Pablo de Rajas, learned mathematician and geographer, to continue the survey, and the latter worked in the field during the summer of 1614, sending his notes to Labaña.

The map was completed by September 5, 1615, and was

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[38] Letter of Lupercio to the Deputies, Naples, Dec. 31, 1610, *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 366–369.

[39] He writes in 1610: "Habiendo yo solicitado *tres años* la ejecución del Mapa de ese Reino." *Ibid.*, *ad init.*

[40] See the *Itinerario del Reino de Aragón, por don Juan Bautista Labaña, obra impresa y publicada por la excelentísima Diputación de Zaragoza*, Saragossa, 1895, p. XXI ff.

delivered to the Consistory, but it was not until the spring of the following year that the Deputies, whose temper had suffered because of the delay, finally approved it, and differences at once arose in regard to its printing, which was delayed some three years.

One of the chief difficulties was to determine the nature of the marginal description. On December 31, 1610, Lupercio Leonardo had written from Naples that he was sending the Latin and Spanish texts of his *Declaración sumaria de la historia de Aragón*,[41] which was to accompany the map; and on February 11, 1611, Lupercio's brother-in-law, Jusepe Trillo, handed them over to the Deputies.[42] But Father Rajas censured Lupercio's description as *corta y pobre*, and advised against its publication with the map,[43] preferring, naturally, one composed by himself. On April 20, 1619, Labaña wrote to the Consistory asking which description was to be printed, "si una que hizo Lupercio Leonardo que yo no tengo, o otra que hizo el Padre Raxas que él me imbió";[44] and in September of the same year don Miguel Martínez del Villar sent to Saragossa "unos aduertimientos y cossas memorables para poner a las márgenes del Mapa."[45]

In this uncertain state of affairs Bartolomé Leonardo rallied to the defense of his brother, redacting a memorial in which he showed that according to the terms of the original contract only the description furnished by Lupercio could be printed on the margins of the map.[46] The justice of this claim was recognized and in 1619 the map appeared bearing the description (in Castilian only) of the Secretary Leonardo. On June 28, 1623, doña Mariana de Albión, Lupercio's widow, appeared before the Consistory and made the following statement:

. . . Según fuero en dicho nombre de grado etc., otorgo hauer resciuido etc., de Juan Baptista Labaña . . . quatro mil sueldos jaqueses que por la capitulación hecha entre el dicho Lupercio Lehonardo mi marido y dicho Juan

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[41] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 366–369.
[42] Archivo de la Diputación de Zaragoza, *Ms. 320–321*, fol. 146.
[43] *Itinerario*, p. XXXVI.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. LXX.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. LXVIII (b).
[46] Archivo de la Diputacion de Zaragoza, *Ms. 364*, fol. 108. Testes, Gabriel Leonardo de Argensola, Caullero, y Juan García Aguado, Page .

Baptista La Baña, le deuía dar y pagar por hacer la discrepción y mapa del Reyno de Aragón, y por lo que el dicho Lupercio Lehonardo hauía de trabaxar en hacer la discrectión (*sic*) marginal de la ystoria del dicho Reyno y porque es verdad, etc., renuntiante, etc., otorgo ápoca, etc.

Not merely this description, but the map itself, represents a signal service of Lupercio Leonardo to Aragon and to Spanish science, for, as his brother says, "todo este negocio del mapa lo movió, lo solicitó y lo redujo a su efecto el Secretario [Lupercio Leonardo] hasta el punto en que hoy se halla."[47] The success of the map is shown by the fact that eleven editions were made of it before 1778. No new map of Aragon was made until the year 1761, when Tomás Fermín de Lezaún brought the work of Labaña up to date; and the much applauded *Nova et acurata Regni Aragoniae descriptio* of Juan Seyra y Ferrer, engraved in Paris by Lebaux, was little more than a reduction of the map of Labaña, while the *Carta de Aragón* of the geographer d'Anville, also highly praised, was modelled on the *Descriptio* of Seyra.[48]

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[47] *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 354.
[48] *Itinerario*, pp. XXIX and XXXVI.

X

Chronicler of Aragon

The first chronicler of the Kingdom of Aragon was Jerónimo Zurita, who held this position from 1548 to 1581 and was succeeded in turn by Jerónimo de Blancas, Juan Costa and Jerónimo Martel. To Costa and Martel fell the task of writing the history of Aragon in the years which marked the decline of her constitution. Their writings displeased certain persons in power at Court; pressure was brought to bear; their annals were condemned and destroyed; and the office of Historiographer of the Kingdom was taken from Martel and given to Lupercio Leonardo. This affair extended over three years and is, of all the incidents in the life of Lupercio, that which does him least credit.

The storm center was Martel. In addition to his "apparent or real indifference toward the prerogatives of the Monarch, his dangerous fidelity in details,[1] and his excessive independence of judgment,"[2] there were special reasons why the Deputies should have been displeased with him. Contrary to the terms of his appointment, and to the requirement that historiographers of the Kingdom reside within its limits, Martel had taken up his residence in Medinaceli as *Contador Mayor* to the lord of that Duchy. As early as 1605[3] the Deputies had written to him to return to Aragon, with the threat that failing to do so he would be removed from his position. Martel gave no satisfaction, and continued to serve the Duke while the Deputies bided their time.

Two years later a mere accident set in motion the machinery of official injustice motivated by private passion and interest. On the 31st of July, 1607, one of the Deputies, don Diego de Monreal, Bishop of Huesca, died in office, and the keys of the

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1 "Escrivía Martel . . . materias dependientes de otro reynado, y, con ser así, como los veían (i.e., los Anales) los que havían obrado en los sucesos de 1591, y se descubrían algunas causas ocultas, lo tenían por ofensa." Ustarroz, *Progresos*, ms. cit., Chapter VIII.

2 Viñaza, *Discurso*.

3 Letter of Lupercio to Deputies, Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 118 ff.

Archive which had been in his care were given to Juan Escala, Canon and *Camarero* of Roda, a fellow Deputy. On August 3, 1607, Escala appeared before his colleagues and said that upon opening the Bishop's desk he had found in it one of the volumes of the annals of Martel (1606) from which four pages had been torn. He presented the torn book for inspection, and the fact of its mutilation was duly recorded in the minutes.[4] There was an investigation and it was reported that the absence of the four pages had been noted before the death of the Bishop.[5]

Obviously some person had had a definite reason for removing a portion of the manuscript, and on August 8th the Deputies decided to remove from the Archive all books treating of the history of the Kingdom from the year 1592 to date, and to hand them over to a committee of censors,

> para que sus señorías vean la manera que se han de corregir y emendar dichos libros, para que estén de la forma y manera que más conuenga, en aumento del servicio del Rey Nuestro Señor y honra deste Reyno.[6]

Mindful undoubtedly of the commission given in 1599 to Lupercio Leonardo, as Historiographer to His Majesty, whereby he was to correct all histories written in the Kingdom by others than himself,[7] the Deputies appointed him to act on this committee with Juan Escala and Bartolomé Llorente, Prior of Nuestra Señora del Pilar and former Deputy.

Here again we find Lupercio in a most difficult situation. Himself a "tenacísimo fuerista," he was yet required to see to it that no Aragonese historian should write anything which the King or his ministers could interpret as an "error". He was under pressure, obviously, to find reasons for the suppression of the books in question; and the reasons found by him and his fellow committeemen have in no case been upheld.

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[4] Real Academia de la Historia, *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 89. See also Ustarroz *Progresos*, ms. cit., Chapter VIII.
[5] Ustarroz, *Progresos*, Chapter VIII.
[6] Real Academia de la Historia, *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 90.
[7] "Historias per historicos dictorum Regnorum scribendas videndo, et diligenter examinando, et ab erroribus expurgando."

It was reported by the committee that Martel had misstated what took place; had not observed the chronology of the events; had utterly failed in his interpretation of the causes, showing himself to be a writer of fables or myths rather than an historian; that he had not sifted the events as to their relative importance; and that personal passion had distorted his judgment to the extent that his books had become "pasquines y difamatorios libelos." The committee reported further that

> en lugar de prudencia, erudición y elegancia se hallan en estos Anales mucha temeridad, poca doctrina y ninguna curiosidad en el estilo y lenguaje, porque de los Reyes, nuestros Señores, de quien habla, de sus criados, ministros y oficiales, y de otras muchas personas calificadas, escribe y dice tales cosas, que quando no temía hacerse autor dellas, debe el Reyno temer justamente conservarlos en su archivo.[8]

It appears also that the judgment of other persons was sought, and that the condemnation was unanimous.[9] Fray Miguel López Chalez, referring to Martel's annals for the years 1598, 1599 and 1600, wrote to the Deputies:

> Me parece que el Reyno no deve permitir que se impriman, porque demás que en ellos habla muy sin consequencia annual, el autor es hombre muy sin estillo ni noticia de cossas necessarias para historia; el lenguaje es muy malo, la historia muy vulgar, y notablemente injuiciosa y mordaz contra los Reyes . . ., contra sus privados y ministros, etc.[10]

The result of all this was that on October 13, 1608, the Deputies "por tanto et alias" removed Martel from office, giving his place to Lupercio Leonardo, at a salary of 4000 *sueldos jaqueses* annually, to be held for life on condition that he maintain his residence in Aragon; and commanded that the nine volumes in manuscript of the history of Martel, and the two volumes of the history of Costa[11] be delivered to him, to be used or rejected in

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[8] Real Academia de la Historia, *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 93.
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[9] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 98 ff.

[10] *Ibid.*, fol. 95. Dated Aug. 10, 1608.

[11] This is the first time that the annals of Costa are mentioned in the documents. They contained the history of Aragon from the *Cortes* of Monzón, 1585, to a little before those of Tarazona, 1592, and were destroyed with the annals of his successor. Costa was Chronicler of Aragon from May 21, 1592, until his death, June 30, 1597. Cf. Latassa, Vol. I, art. *Costa*.

part or in whole in the preparation of such an *Historia de los años pasados* as should deserve to be read and esteemed, not only within the Kingdom but also in foreign lands. Lupercio was present when this action was taken, and accepting the appointment with thanks thereupon took the oath of office.[12]

Martel throughout seems to have maintained a defiant attitude and to have continued working, oblivious of the charges made against him. On May 31, 1608, his son presented himself before the Deputies and delivered to them "un libro en pliego grande . . el cual dijo que era el libro de la crónica del presente Reyno, por el dicho su padre hecho, del año próximo passado de M.DCVII";[13] and on December 9th Antonio Latassa, as attorney of Martel, protested to the Consistory against the legality of its action in removing him.[14] His cause was favored by Juan Miguel Palomar.

Lupercio on the day after his appointment left Saragossa for Madrid, taking with him the eleven *cuadernos* in order to keep them out of the hands of certain friends of Martel who wished to make abstracts of them, and upon arriving at Court he wrote to Martel as conciliatory a letter as possible. In it he said that if the former Chronicler accepted the decision of the Deputies, no one but Lupercio would have a part in the examination of the condemned papers; but that in any other case the intervention of others, perhaps less inclined to leniency, would become necessary.[15] No answer came. A second letter of Lupercio carried with it the threat that if Martel did not answer within a month, measures would be taken to justify publicly the Deputies' action. A third letter was written after the news of Martel's appeal had been received; and finally, in view of the silence so consistently maintained by the latter, Lupercio presented the matter to the King and asked for advice.

He was referred to the Vice Chancellor of Aragon, D. Diego Clavero, and to D. Pedro Moncayo, President of Castile. The latter, upon being informed as to Martel's conduct and the

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[12] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 98 ff.
[13] *Ibid.*, fol. 91.
[14] *Ibid.*, fol. 91 verso.
[15] *Ibid.*, fol. 118 ff.

nature of his writings, desired to bring him to Madrid under arrest, but upon Lupercio's request this was not done, a summons being served upon him instead. He came, acknowledged the authorship of the histories, and was ordered by the Vice Chancellor to withdraw his appeal, surrendering also his own rough drafts that they, with his histories, might be destroyed.[16]

On May 10, 1609, the Deputies ordered Lupercio Leonardo to hand over the eleven volumes to D. Martín de Alagón, Gentleman of the Bedchamber of His Majesty and Deputy of the Kingdom of Aragon, that by him they might be delivered to the Vice Chancellor "para que haga dellos lo que su Magestad tiene mandado." On May 19 the delivery was made, and the eleven books of Costa and Martel were destroyed "rasgando los dichos libros y ojas dellos. . . de manera que haora ni para siempre jamás no puedan ser leídos."[17]

That this was an act of injustice is clear. Pellicer[18] says of it:

> No es creíble que todo lo que escribieron los Coronistas Costa y Martel, según eran de cuerdos y doctos, fuese indistintamente merecedor de censura tan severa,

and points to political reasons. Ustarroz, who was almost a contemporary, regards the whole affair as most unfortunate and concludes:

> Cuando en Madrid se rasgavan los escritos de Gerónimo Martel, en Mallorca D. Miguel Martínez del Villar, Regente entonces de aquella Isla, y después en el Consejo de Aragón, le llamaba *diligente y verdadero historiador*,[19] y cita un fragmento de harto honor para las cosas del Reyno . . . en el tratado que publicó impugnando los autores que manzillaron la fidelidad de Aragón . . .; y creo . . . que expurgándolos de algunas cosas pudieran sin vergüenza leerse y estimarse; y pudo hacer este castigo menos sensible la compañía de los Annales de Juan Costa, a quien no falta disposición, eloquencia y juicio para escrivir.[20]

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[16] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 118 ff.
[17] *Ibid.* fol. 108 recto and verso.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 25.
[19] "Diligens ac verus Regni Aragonum historicus," in his work entitled *De innata fidelitate Regni Aragoniae*, p. 270. Quoted by Latassa.
[20] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. 11–2–7 = 16* (*Progresos*), Chap. VIII.

In 1641 Martel's *Forma de celebrar cortes* was published by order of the Deputies of the Kingdom "after having triumphed gloriously over the calumnies which envy or ignorance brought against his writings,"[21] and in the preface the editor (Andrés de Ustarroz) summed up in three words the cause of the reverses suffered by the author: "Las verdades lastiman."[22] In the Biblioteca Nacional there is another work[23] of the unfortunate historiographer: *Cronología universal, primera parte, desde la creación del mundo hasta el año 3373.* Its printing was half completed in 1602. Ustarroz had a complete copy; but why it remained inedited was unknown to Latassa, who refers also to his *Historia de las cosas de su tiempo, que pasaron a su vista* as a work "de utilísimo uso."[24] Of Costa there remain the exceedingly rare *Gobierno del ciudadano*[25] and the *De Conscribenda historia*,[26] of which the former was translated into Latin, French and Italian,[27] enjoying also the distinction of three Spanish editions.

Lupercio realized the injustice which was being done, as is evidenced by his various attempts to rally to Martel's defense, in so far as this was consistent with his own interests and the requirements of the situation in which he found himself. His own honor required that there be no question as to the legality of his appointment. With this end in view he did what he could to persuade Martel to accept the inevitable. This failing, "obligado del caso", and after consultation with respected

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[21] Lastanosa, *Medallas desconocidas*, op. cit. (1645), p. 6.

[22] This one work disproves the greater part of the charges brought against Martel by the committee of censors in 1608. Viñaza, *Discurso.*

[23] *Ms. F, 27*, cited by Gallardo.

[24] Latassa, Vol. II, pp. 250–251.

[25] *Gobierno del Ciudadano, compuesto por Micer Ioan Costa, Doctor y Cathedrático de Leyes en la Universidad de Çaragoça; trata de cómo se ha de regir así su casa y República . . , Saragossa*, 1584. This edition is quoted by Jiménez and Sinués, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 250–251. It had appeared previously in Pamplona, 1575, and Salamanca, 1578.

[26] *De conscribenda rerum Historia* libri duo: quibus continentur totius historiae institutionis brevissima et absoluta praecepta, Caesaraugustae, anno 1591. 4, typis Laurentii de Robles (Nicolás Antonio). Quoted by Latassa in his notes to the *Aganipe de los cisnes aragoneses* of Andrés de Ustarroz, 2d. ed., Saragossa, 1890, p. 115. For other writings of Costa see Latassa or Nicolás Antonio.

[27] Latassa.

churchmen, he proceeded to push the matter. But for him, the papers of the two chroniclers would not have been destroyed.

Martel was aware of Lupercio's temporizing attitude and ignored his three letters. It is not difficult to imagine the former's feelings as he read in Medinaceli these words:

> No se admirará ni indignará Vm. desto[28] acordándose que aquellos escritos los entregaua cada año recién nacidos, faltándole tiempo y comodidades para verlos y reformarlos, que según Oracio diez años son menester para esto, y assí alargó Vm. la pluma algunas veces según sus afectos, aunque entonces le deuía parezer que era según su obligación.[29]

Lupercio did what he could, however, for Martel. He refused to apply for the position of historiographer, even when urged to do so by his friends. He neglected the examination of the histories as long as possible.[30] Upon taking his oath of office as Chronicler he required the notary to express in the minutes of the Consistory his regret that advancement had come to him at another's cost. He prevented the President of Castile from subjecting Martel to the humiliation of arrest; protested against the destruction of the histories, volunteering to expurgate them; and defended their author, finally, on the ground that his papers had been handed over to the Deputies in good faith and that their mistakes were therefore due to incompetence rather than malicious intention.[31]

But, as the Conde de la Viñaza points out,[32] all this is unconvincing. Lupercio himself stated the real issue to Martel: "Vm. sabe a quién tiene ofendidos en estos escritos y si se pueden hazer pagados de su mano."[33] The reasons were political, and were entirely apart from any considerations of style or

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[28] I.e., at the report of the censors.

[29] Real Ac. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 118 ff.

[30] "Començamos a ver los libros de Costa en las casas del Reyno con asistencia de un Diputado, y por parecerme grande y inútil el trauajo, desuanecí la junta." Those of Martel were not examined until the following year. *Ibid*, 118 ff.

[31] Real Ac. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 107.

[32] *Discurso*.

[33] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 118 ff. *ad fin.*

chronological order in the narration of events. Lupercio, although certain parts of his report on the seditions of 1591 are the last example of the independence of the chroniclers of Aragon,[34] had by this time lost that independence. He was a Minister of His Majesty.

Lupercio Leonardo was far too shrewd a man not to profit by the experience of his predecessor. The Deputies, on appointing him as their Historiographer, had instructed him to rewrite the "historia de los años pasados"; but in the clause of the appointment which reads "y lo que más se fuere ofreciendo se le aduertirá," he evidently found a means of escape from so dangerous an undertaking, for in 1612 he wrote from Naples:

> Quando los SS. Diputados predecesores de V.SS. me mandaron que sirviese al Reyno en el oficio de Coronista, reservaron para después el darme instrucción de lo que debía hacer, juzgando prudentemente que la que tubieron mis dos predecesores no era qual convenía; porque dar tarea, y obligar a que cada año se escriba lo que en él sucede, y que se entregue como sale de la pluma, es ageno de la gravedad y autoridad de la Historia, y ocasión de que se escriban muchas mentiras y cosas indignas . . .; de manera que escribir sin tiempo y sin examen, sin eleccion y sin estilo, más es de Gazetas y Menantes que de historiadores. Yo les propuse algunas materias en que a mi parecer se debe ocupar el Coronista de ese Reyno, que son las siguientes.[35]

These were: first, to make a compendium of the Annals of Zurita, adding such explanations as should make the book intelligible to those not natives of the Kingdom; second, to compose a book on the lives of the illustrious sons of Aragon, for the benefit of other nations; third, to continue the *Historia de la España Tarraconense*, already begun by Lupercio; fourth, to continue the Historia of Zurita, beginning with the union of Castile and Aragon under Charles V. It was in favor of this last suggestion that the Deputies voted, although at the same time they commanded him to proceed with his history of *Hispania Tarraconensis;* and Lupercio began work on his *Historia de Carlos V*, "preparando y inquiriendo las cosas necesarias."

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[34] Duque de Villahermosa, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[35] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

But almost immediately there came to him new opportunities and responsibilities, which, while they made possible more extensive researches in regard to the reign of the Emperor, yet relegated to a subordinate place the writing of the history of his reign. The Conde de Lemos had been named as Viceroy of Naples, and desired to take Lupercio with him as Secretary of State and War. Italy, the scene of the heroic exploits of the early kings of Aragon, the country also of Lupercio's paternal ancestors, was opening before him. Gladly he obtained permission from the Deputies and prepared to go.

XI

Naples

Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, Conde de Lemos, nephew and son-in-law of the Duque de Lerma, had long been a friend of the Argensolas. Pardo[1] suggests that he may have made the acquaintance of Bartolomé Leonardo at the University of Salamanca, but this seems improbable from the fact that he was fourteen years younger than the Chaplain of the Empress. The friendship for both brothers was probably formed at Court. As President of the *Consejo de Indias* don Pedro chose Bartolomé to record the event which he regarded as the outstanding achievement of his administration, the conquest of the Molucca or Spice Islands (1604-1606); and the latter wrote, at his command, the *Conqvista de las Islas Malvcas*.[2] It is readily supposed that don Pedro was also the "persona grave"[3] who prevented Bartolomé's retirement from Madrid upon the death of Mary of Austria, and caused him to follow the Court to Valladolid.

The Count's appointment was published on August 21, 1608, very shortly after the death of Juan Ramírez de Arellano, his friend and secretary.[4] At once there began to rain down upon him letters of application and recommendation addressed by those who sought for themselves or for others a place on the staff of the new Viceroy. Among the applicants was Diego de Amburcea, who, because of his experience as secretary to the Conde de Benavente, retiring Viceroy, felt qualified to hold a similar position under the Conde de Lemos. But to his great disappointment he was informed that on the very night of the death of Ramírez the position of secretary had been offered to Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, whom don Pedro, for some years past, had sought to make a member of his household; and

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[1] A. Pardo Manuel de Villena, *El Conde de Lemos*, Madrid, 1911, p. 20.
[2] Madrid, 1609.
[3] See Bartolomé's *tercetos*, *Con tu licencia, Fabio, me retiro*, *Rimas*, p. 254.
[4] This, and most of the facts which follow, are taken from Pardo, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII.

that the entire matter of determining the personnel of the new staff would be in his hands, should he accept. Amburcea was offended and vented his spite by writing to a friend in Vizcaya a satire on the Count's fondness for surrounding himself with poets.[5]

Since the Conde de Benavente's term as Viceroy of Naples did not expire until the spring of 1610, don Pedro showed no haste in making his preparations, and withdrew to his estates in Monforte (Galicia). It was probably not until the final settlement of the case of Martel (May 19, 1609), and the granting to Lupercio Leonardo by the Deputies of special permission whereby he might reside outside the Kingdom,[6] that he was able to accept definitely the new position. On September 17, 1609, Bartolomé Leonardo wrote to Llorente from Madrid: "Mi hermano está en Galicia. Vendrá presto, y con su venida acabaremos de saber si esta ida a Nápoles es hijo o hija."[7]

At this time, then, it is probable that the two Leonardos set about the choice of a cabinet. It was the Count's wish that the appointees be chosen from among men of letters; and this was done. But the selections made are not easily to be explained.

One of those who most eagerly sought to be included in don Pedro's party was Miguel de Cervantes,[8] but for some reason he was left behind, notwithstanding the friendly relations which existed and continued to exist between him and Lemos. It appears, however, that the Argensolas promised him that at the first opportunity they would send for him. This they failed to do and "the sweet-tempered old man" reproaches them for their forgetfulness in his *Viaje del Parnaso*.[9] Pardo ventures to

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[5] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27. This letter may be read in Paz y Melia's collection of *Sales españolas*, Madrid, 1890, Vol. I, pp. 347–375.

[6] This permission was formally given on March 9, 1610, but the Deputies had "ya antes noticia de las razones que en la dicha petición se contienen." Archivo de la Diputación de Zaragoza, *Ms. 314*, fol. 136 verso.

[7] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 38.

[8] Pardo, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–114; 125–126; 260–261.

[9] Mandóme el del alígero calçado,
que me aprestasse y fuesse luego a tierra
a dar a los Lupercios vn recado,
en que les diesse cuenta de la guerra
temida, y que a venir les persuadiesse

explain this by Cervantes' age, and by the fact that he was not fitted to shine in the improvised theatricals of which Lemos was so fond. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, on the other hand,[10] points out that Cervantes was probably no less efficient than Lupercio, who died before him.

According to Pardo, don Luis de Góngora also sought a place, and on not receiving it wrote the sonnet *El Conde mi señor se va a Nápoles*, but this sonnet appears in the critical edition of Góngora's works[11] with this note: "Del Conde de Villamediana, Preuenido para ir a Nápoles con el Duque de Alba." The sonnet in question could not well apply to the departure of don Pedro.

Another of the applicants was Cristóbal de Mesa, and he, upon the official announcement of Lemos' appointment, followed up his first request with a poetic epistle in which he expressed regret that a long sickness had kept him from writing, and that

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al duro y fiero assalto, al cierra, cierra.
"Señor, le respondí, si a caso huuiesse
otro que la embaxada les lleuasse,
que más grato a los dos hermanos fuesse
que yo no soy, sé bien que negociasse
mejor." Dixo Mercurio: "no te entiendo,
y has de ir antes que el tiempo más se passe."
"Que no me han de escuchar estoy temiendo,
le repliqué, ya, si el yr yo no importa,
puesto que en todo obedecer pretendo,
que no sé quién me dize y quién me exorta,
que tienen para mí, a lo que imagino,
la voluntad, como la vista, corta;
que si esto assí no fuera, este camino
con tan pobre recámara no hiziera,
ni diera en vn tan hondo dessatino,
pues si alguna promessa se cumpliera
de aquellas muchas que al partir me hizieron,
lléueme Dios si entrara en tu galera.
Mucho esperé, si mucho prometieron,
mas podía ser que ocupaciones nueuas
les obligue a oluidar lo que dixeron.
Muchos, señor, en la galera lleuas
que te podrán sacar el pie del lodo.
Parte, y escusa de hazer más prueuas."
"Ninguno, dixo, me hable desse modo,
que, si me desembarco y los enuisto,
boto a Dios, que me trayga al conde y todo."
Ed. R. Schevill and A. Bonilla, Madrid, 1922, pp. 43–44.

[10] *The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, op. cit., p. 230.

[11] Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Bibliotheca Hispanica, Vol. XVII, New York, 1921.

access to the Count had become difficult since the death of his former secretary, Ramírez de Arellano. And Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, in *El Passagero* (Alivio VIII), relates how, with the intention of dedicating a book to Lemos, and perhaps in an effort to obtain a place in his company,[12] he went to Barcelona at the time of the embarcation, but was prevented from obtaining an audience by an *eclesiástico* (probably Bartolomé Leonardo), who said that the Count was busy. He appealed to someone else, but receiving a similar answer, returned to Madrid, convinced that don Pedro was so surrounded by *ingeniosos* as to be inaccessible. The resentments caused at this time are responsible for the statement of Andrés de Ustarroz: "Todos los poetas de aquel tiempo se lamentan de la tibieça de Lupercio Leonardo."[13]

Those eventually chosen were D. Antonio Mira de Amescua, Gabriel de Barrionuevo, Antonio de Laredo and Francisco de Ortigosa. With the exception of the first, these men are all but unknown today. Gabriel de Barrionuevo, "celebrado por sus entremeses,"[14] has left in print only the *Entremés famoso del triunfo de los coches*, published in the *Octava Parte* of Lope de Vega's *Comedias* (1617) and in the *Colección de entremeses* of Cotarelo.[15] In regard to Laredo and Ortigosa I have been able to find nothing beyond what is told us by don Diego Duque de Estrada, in his account of the literary academy established by Lemos in Naples. He refers to Ortigosa as a "singular, si desgraciado, ingenio,"[16] and on another occasion says of him:

> Por su nobleza, valor y soberano ingenio pudiera fortuna, a no ser envidiosa y tener discurso de razón, darle el laurel de Apolo de nuestra España.[17]

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[12] "Doctor. No se apartaua de mi imaginación el continuo cuidado de ausentarme, por buscar en patrias estrangeras alas que como otras vezes me siruiessen generosamente de sombra y escudo." Ed. Bibliófilos españoles, Madrid, 1914, p. 422 ff.

[13] *Elogios*, ms. cit., Chap. XXII.

[14] *Comentarios del desengañado, o sea Vida de D. Diego Duque de Estrada, escrita por él mismo, Memorial histórico español*, Vol. XII, Madrid, 1860, p. 124.

[15] *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. XVII, pp. 208–216.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

And he says of Laredo:

> Era . . . de muy buen ingenio, cara y talle, tentadísimo por hablar de repente, junto que en otras comedias hacía él la mayor parte de los papeles, fingiendo diversas voces, y pasándose a diferentes lugares, con que (como que) hablaban muchos; y tan gracioso en los disparates, que decían que era la fiesta de la comedia.[18]

But don Diego Duque de Estrada was a notorious braggart, as can be ascertained from any of the pages of his *Comentarios*, and the value of his words can be only relative. Perhaps a more just estimate is that given by Cristóbal de Mesa in the epistle to Lemos already mentioned:[19]

> De algunos españoles hacéis caso
> que en Italia veréis por experiencia
> que a la falda no llegan del Parnaso.

It is clear that in this matter of selections no one shared the responsibility with the Argenoslas, for against them, and not against Lemos, are directed the complaints of the disappointed. It may be that personal friendship was a determining factor, but there are no indications that either Lupercio or Bartolomé especially esteemed these gentlemen. It may be, as Pardo suggests,[20] that the chief qualification sought was the ability to improvise verses and *comedias*, according to the fashion of the times. It is even possible that the Argensolas preferred to surround themselves with persons whose literary gifts were not likely to outshine their own.

Established in Naples with his wife and his son Gabriel, Lupercio found himself nearly overwhelmed with duties. The Viceroyship of Naples was the most important of all the posts in Europe filled by the appointment of the King of Spain.[21] The Conde de Lemos was himself overworked, and his doctors

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[19] Quoted by Pardo, *op cit.*, p. 113.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 260–261. See also pp. 105–108, and don Diego Duque de Estrada, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–127.
[21] Pardo, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

ordered that he take more rest.[22] An idea of the vast amount of business conducted may be gained from a statement of Amburcea, the former Secretary:

¿Quién creerá que hay día que llegan los memoriales decretados por el Virrey y sus Secretarios . . . a novecientos?[23]

And Lupercio Leonardo tells, in a letter to don Martín Bautista de Lanuza,[24] of the strenuous life he led:

Quien se da enteramente a los negocios, halla en ellos mismos lugar para respirar. Yo lo he hecho así, porque no vivo en Nápoles, sino en mis aposentos. No como, sino a mediodía; acuéstome a las once; despierto antes de las quatro, y hasta las seis soy absolutamente mío, porque entonces callan mis aposentos: en todo lo demás del día son campo de batalla.

These two hours, from four to six in the morning, Lupercio devoted to his histories; for the leave of absence granted by the Deputies did not carry with it a release from his duties as Chronicler. He himself had urged, as the chief reason for its being granted, the advantages to the writer of the *Historia de Carlos V* of being able to visit the scenes of the events to be recorded and to meet the persons who had been eyewitnesses of them, all of which could be done in Italy, since the wars of Charles with King Francis were over the possession of that Peninsula, Milan and Naples being always regarded as the chief prizes of the Emperor's victories.[25] By January, 1612, he was able to report to the Deputies:

He travajado en esta *Historia de Carlos V* de manera que dándome Dios salud pienso ver el fruto, y poner mano en otra que también me mandaron los Señores Disputados, . . . que es la Historia de Aragón desde la fundación de Zaragoza.[26]

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[23] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[24] The *Justicia de Aragón*. The letter is dated at Naples, Sept. 8, 1611. Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fols. 122–124. Quoted by Pellicer, p. 35.
[25] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 106 ff; *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 363 ff.
[26] *Ibid.*, fol. 125.

This hope was realized. In December, 1612, he wrote again to the Consistory saying that, except for the filling in of certain blanks with facts to be gathered upon his return to Aragon, the History of Charles V could be regarded as completed. But inasmuch as the Conde de Lemos would be detained at least until the following summer, and his own leave of absence expired in March, he asked for an extension of time, promising to continue his historical work without further salary until his return to Spain.[27] The request was granted, and Lupercio resumed work on his *España Tarraconense.*

For recreation the members of the Viceroy's staff turned to those literary gatherings so dear to don Pedro, whose enthusiasm for letters has justly won him the title of *Mecenas español.* He had, it will be remembered, maintained a literary academy in Saragossa,[28] and it is natural that, finding himself in the city where gatherings of this sort had reached, perhaps, their greatest splendor, and continuing the tradition set by the former Viceroy, don Pedro de Toledo, he should have decided to establish an academy of his own. Learning of the existence of a nascent literary society which had been organized by Cardinal Brancaccio and which was then under the leadership of Giambattista Manso, friend and biographer of Tasso and later (1638) friend of Milton, he offered to the president his own services and those of his secretary.[29]

The result of this literary coalition was the *Academia de los Ociosos*, which, according to Pardo,[30] became one of the most important cultural centers of Italy, and of the entire literary world in the first years of the *seicento.* Giannone, in his *Historia civile del regno di Napoli*,[31] says of this Academy that not only the *letterati*, but also the nobility and the most famous scholars of Naples sought the honor of being numbered among its members, and mentions especially the Princes of Stigliano, of la Riccia, of Cariati, and of Rocca Romana, together with the Dukes of Sermoneta and of Nocera and other gentlemen of high

[27] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–34.
[28] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 309–310, n.
[29] Pardo, *op. cit.*, p. 160 ff.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 163–164.
[31] Quoted by M. Mir in his Introduction to Bartolomé Leonardo's *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Saragossa, 1891, pp. XLVIII-XLIX.

rank; while among the savants were Giambattista Marini, Pietro Lassena, Francesco de Petris, Giulio Cesare Capaccio, Ascanio Colelli, Tibero del Pozzo, Antonio Maria Palumbo and many others.

But even in the midst of this distinguished company, according to Giannone, it was the Viceroy who gave the Academy its chief lustre, and it was his fondness for dramatic representations which determined largely the nature of the literary exercises with which the *Oziosi* amused themselves in their leisure hours. On one occasion don Pedro recited a comedy of his own composition,[32] which was honored with general applause. And it was his pleasure also to assign to the various academicians subjects for the improvisation of comedies at the meetings, after the reading of the papers assigned at the previous session.[33]

Of one such representation a record has been left by don Diego Duque de Estrada,[34] who was himself a participant in it:

La primera vez que yo entré se hizo una comedia de repente, que así por detenerme en escribir otra cosa que desdichas, como por ser graciosa, la contaré. Representóse el hundimiento de Eurídice . . . Hacía de Orfeo el Capitán Anaya, un hombre de muy buen ingenio y ridiculoso, tocando por cítara unas parrillas aforradas de pergamino que formaban unas desconformes voces; de Eurídice hacía el Capitán Espejo, cuyos bigotes no sólo lo eran, pero bigoteras, pues los ligaba a las orejas. El Rector de Villahermosa, hombre graciosísimo, viejo y sin dientes, a Prosperpina; el Secretario Antonio de Laredo a Plutón, y yo el embajador de Orfeo . . . Empezóse la comedia, y asistían Virrey y Virreina con muchas damas encubiertas, permitiéndose, como era de repente, si se decía alguna palabra sucia o no muy honesta, si lo había menester el consonante del verso. Salió el Rector, que como clérigo andaba rapado, vestido de dueña, y habiendo en esto entrado una dueña muy gorda, como era de noche, pensando que era ella, fué tal la risa, que apenas se podía empezar la comedia, la cual empezó el Rector diciendo:

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[32] *La casa confusa.* M. Mir, *loc. cit.*, p. L.
[33] D. Diego Duque de Estrada, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[34] *Op. cit.*, pp. 124–127. Quoted by Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–92 and by Pardo, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–171.

Proserpina. Yo soy la Proserpina; ésta, la morada
del horrible rabioso cancerbero,
que me quiere morder por el trasero.
Plutón. Bien hay en que morder, no importa nada.

Y a este tono se fueron siguiendo disparates tan graciosos, que aun los que los representaban no lo podían hacer de risa, etc.

The participation of Lupercio's brother in the activities of this academy is established by the words of don Diego. There is also testimony to show that it was Lupercio who was chiefly responsible for its organization. Remembering the pleasant hours spent with the *Humildes* in Madrid and with the *Anhelantes* in Saragossa, and making use of the experience gained with them, he had been the first to urge the formation of the new society, and thereafter he sustained it by his efforts, guided it with his advice, and honored it with his presence:

Cui debemus Academiam hanc nostram, auditores, nisi soli Lupercio? Ipse enim apud Proregem de ea primum cum verba fecisset, quantum civitati huic ipsiquemet Principi splendoris additura fuisset, commemoravit, quo factum est ut doctissimus ille, ac dementissimus comes in Academicorum numerum, tanto nostro cum honore describi petieret, quare quidquid sumus; sua ope, consilio sumus Academici; huic itaque Lupercius Academiam hanc nostram in lucem prodeuntem, suscepit, natam sinu fouit, adolentem ornavit, suscepit auxilio, fouit consilio, ornavit praesentia.[35]

And not all the Academy's exercises were as frivolous as the travestied loss of Eurydice. Andrés de Ustarroz has preserved the record of an entirely different session, conducted with the greatest dignity in Latin.[36] This session was held on March 29, 1613, to commemorate the death of the founder, Lupercio Leonardo.

Although his death came suddenly, he seems to have had a premonition of it. Suffering from an apparently slight indisposition, he sent for a priest, saying that he wished to make a

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[35] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 24*, Chap. XX. From the Latin eulogy pronounced at Lupercio's funeral.
[36] *Ibid.*, Chap. XX. Also Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–39.

confession which he had written out some time before. The Confessor expressed surprise, and suggested that perhaps his desire for the sacraments was premature. But Lupercio insisted. He called his son Gabriel, exhorted him to be zealous in the service of God and of his Prince, and died within a few hours.[37]

Don Pedro wrote on March 18 to the Deputies of Saragossa,[38] expressing his regret at the loss of one whose talents had promised to add such lustre to Aragon and to Spain, and who to him had been a friend. On March 21 a similar letter was sent by Gabriel Leonardo, in which he offered his services to the Consistory.[39] The latter, in its reply, requested that he, as heir, should assume custody of the writings of his father, delivering them as soon as possible to the archive of the Kingdom, that they might be prepared for publication.[40]

This unfortunately was not done, whether through neglect on the part of Gabriel, or through some accident beyond his control, and, except for a few fragments of Lupercio's *Carlos V* and of his *Historia general de la España Tarraconense*, the manuscripts were lost. Gabriel was given his father's place as Secretary of State and War. The status of the Rector of Villahermosa remained unchanged. Both continued in the service of don Pedro until his return to Spain in the summer of 1616.

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[37] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in his *Life of Miguel de Cervantes*, p. 149, gives the date as March 13. Nowhere else have I found a mention of the day. See *ms. cit.*, Chap. XX, and Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[38] *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 373.

[39] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 127.

[40] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 24*, fol. 98.

XII

The Man

A manuscript in the Spanish Academy of History, apparently in the hand of Andrés de Ustarroz, gives the following description of the person of Lupercio Leonardo: "La tez del rostro blanca, ojos negros barba y cabeza (*sic*), la nariz proporcionada, la frente ancha, y calua mucha parte de la cabeza."[1] His character has been revealed in the story of his life, and the estimate which follows is little more than a summary of what has gone before. He showed in a marked degree the qualities which have always distinguished the inhabitants of Aragon. A *fuerista* in his attitude toward the struggle between the King and the Kingdom, he was also the staunch champion of his own rights: "Estoy resuelto en no reuocar la donación, porque las cosas hay humanas, y en morir defendiendo lo que las leyes de Dios y del Rey me permiten absolutamente."[2] This same uncompromising attitude is seen in his handling of the affairs of the Duque de Villahermosa and in his choice of a staff to accompany the Conde de Lemos to Naples.

He was essentially an aristocrat, a noble. The Aragonese constitution, with its unjust class distinctions, was to him a thing sacred, the result of the wisdom of generations, sanctioned by kings and prelates gathered together in the name of Christ.[3] When he attacks the *comedia*, it is because of the number of *personas señaladas* who are perverted by it.[4] Nowhere does he speak of the tyranny which the *caballeros señores de vasallos* exercised in Aragon,[5] but he reiterates the idea that the masses must obey: "Rompiéndose el ñudo de la obediencia en el pueblo,

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[1] Real Acad. de la Hist., *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 130.
[2] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 119, letter 2.
[3] *Información de los sucesos de Aragón*, pp. 17–18.
[4] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 282.
[5] "No es extraño: la misma santa Duquesa había prendido a un alcalde y se creía autorizada para matarlo foralmente de hambre, y por rasgo de santidad se tuvo que no lo hiciera." Vicente de la Fuente, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

es forzoso que él, o quien le señorea, perezcan."[6] His attitude toward the King, which borders on adulation in the *canción* on San Diego[7] and the *tercetos* on Aranjuez,[8] is more accurately stated in his *Información de los sucesos de Aragón:*[9] "Pues los reyes son hombres, y ven y oyen por otros ojos y oídos: sólo Dios es el que no puede ser engañado."

On one occasion only does Lupercio fail to ring true. In the removal of Martel from office he yielded to the demands of the powerful, endorsing publicly, though against his will, the false accusations drawn up by one of his fellow committee men.[10] He did this, however, with the conviction that no other course was open; and on his death bed he was able to say that he had never been guilty of deception.[11]

His desire to raise the moral standard of his generation is patent in all his works; and equally clear is his devotion to the Church. Explaining to Llorente his reasons for beginning his history of ancient Aragon only with the reign of Augustus, he writes: "No tengo por de gran importancia escribir las barbaridades antiquísimas de aquellas gentes que no conocieron el verdadero Dios."[12] In the preparation of this work, it is the ecclesiastical history that chiefly interests him, and his enthusiasm for Aragon is very similar to that of Prudentius, who sang:

> Tu decem Sanctos revehes et octo
> Caesaraugusta studiosa Christi,
> Verticem flavis oleis revincta
> Pacis honore.

Though not altogether unjustly accused of coldness by Quintana, he was yet warm in his family affections and devoted to a

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[6] *Información*, p. 65.
[7] *En estas sacras ceremonias pías, Rimas*, p. 102.
[8] *Hay un lugar en la mitad de España*, Rimas, p. 116.
[9] P. 52.
[10] "Pudieron haber llegado al mismo fin sin ensañamiento ni tacha de adulación al poderoso, siquiera entendiesen cumplir con su conciencia y con sus altos deberes; y así no se habrían desmentido posteriormente la mayor parte de las aseveraciones del referido dictamen con lo impreso que de Martel ha llegado a nuestro conocimiento." Viñaza, *Discurso*, op. cit.
[11] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Andrés de Ustarroz, *Elogios*, Chap. XX.
[12] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

few friends, and he wrote to Lipsius echoing the words of Terence: "Homo cum sim, nihil humani a me alienum puto."[13] Perhaps first among these friends we should mention the Canon and Prior of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, D. Bartolomé Llorente. The fifteen letters which have been saved out of Lupercio's correspondence with this churchman and scholar cover a period of fifteen years, from 1594 to 1609. In him Lupercio found not only a friend, but an adviser and teacher. To him he sent for criticism the manuscript of his translation of Tacitus; to him he looked for guidance at every step in the preparation of his history of *Hispania Tarraconensis;* under his direction he studied, to the point of endangering his health; and with him he shared the details of his family life. Only occasionally is there a revelation in these letters of Lupercio's inner self; but these occasional glimpses, together with the long period covered by the correspondence, and the content of it, make clear Llorente's influence on his friend.

Side by side with Llorente, as friend of the Argensolas, stands Dr. Aguilar Terrones, whom Bartolomé met at the University of Salamanca, and who later became the King's Chaplain.[14] He is referred to frequently as "nuestro amigo" by Bartolomé Leonardo in his letters to Llorente, and it was at his request that Lupercio wrote the *tercetos*[15] in honor of St. Euphrasius, when the relics of that Saint were transferred by Terrones from Asturias to their home in Andújar.[16]

On the friendship with Lipsius nothing more can be said here. Lupercio refers to him as chief among his friends: "Te praecipue inter hos, ut luna inter minora sidera conspicuo."[17] But here the reference is to Lipsius' reputation as a scholar. For him Lupercio felt admiration and respect. Perhaps the word friend is not properly applied to him.

Much more intimate must have been the acquaintance with

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[14] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 12. It will be remembered that Lupercio published the sermon preached by Terrones at the funeral of Philip II.

[15] *Quando en la sed del implacable estío*, *Rimas*, p. 87.

[16] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 24.

[17] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

don Nuño de Mendoza, first Count of Valle do Reis, who served to introduce Lupercio to Lipsius. Born at Alcacer do Sal, in Portugal, of a distinguished family, he became a man of no small learning, and maintained correspondence with Lipsius and other humanists of his time, being also a generous protector of men of letters. He himself wrote verses in Portuguese and Castilian which were well spoken of by Lope de Vega,[18] and Bartolomé Leonardo's satirical epistle, *Dízesme, Nuño, que en la Corte quieres*, must have been in answer to a similar composition of Mendoza.[19]

Lupercio seems to have been closely attached to his brother-in-law, don Juan de Albión, until the latter's death in 1591. It was to him that Lupercio wrote from Lérida in 1582 the poetic epistle mentioned in an earlier chapter. In it don Juan is addressed not merely as a friend, but as a master and critic, to whom Lupercio in "edad tan verde" looks for guidance and correction. And with don Juan Lupercio spent the siestas at the *Cortes* of Monzón, in company with the Conde de Fuentes, don Jerónimo de la Caballería, don Juan Pacheco and others, "tratando cosas muy dignas de ser sabidas," or rather listening while the Count discussed the art of war, Pacheco translated and recited various harangues of Livy, and Giovanni Maria Agazio, an Italian gentleman, recited his own poems:

> Don Juan de Albión preguntaba y dudaba con mucho juicio, y yo oía con atención, y aseguro a vuesas mercedes que, aunque no pude echar de mí toda la ignorancia, desterré parte de ella en esta conversación.[20]

Don Juan is mentioned among the *Ingenios españoles y héroes extremeños y andaluces* of Cristóbal de Mesa,[21] and a sonnet of

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[18] *Laurel de Apolo*, Silva III: *Pero no se atreviendo con respeto*, etc.

[19] Mendoza's verses have been lost except for a few contained in the *Cancionero* of Faria y Sousa. See D. García Peres, *Catálogo razonado biográfico y bibliográfico de los autores portugueses que escribieron en Castellano*, Madrid, 1890, pp. 379–380.

[20] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 323–324.

[21] Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, Madrid, 1863–1889, Vol. III, col. 788.

his was published with the *Monserrate* of Cristóbal de Virués.[22]

Literary friendships existed between Lupercio and Juan Rufo, Vicente Espinel, Andrés Rey de Artieda and Martín Abarca de Bolea y Castro, for whose works he composed laudatory verses; and sonnets were exchanged between him and don Luis Ferrer, don Francisco de Soria Galvarro[23] and the Duque de Osuna, don Juan. To Lope de Vega he must have written, as he did write to a certain jurisconsult of Valencia,[24] "exhortándole a no rendirse (como lo hazía) al amor," for the following sonnet, which is number 56 of the 1609 edition of Lope's *Rimas*,[25] is addressed to Lupercio Leonardo:

Pasé la mar quando creyó mi engaño,
que en él mi antiguo fuego se templara;
mudé mi natural, porque mudara
naturaleza el uso y cursó el daño.
En otro cielo, en otro reyno estraño
mis trabajos se vieron en mi cara,
hallando, aunque otra tanta edad pasara,
incierto el bien y cierto el desengaño.
El mismo amor me abrasa y atormenta,
y de razón y libertad me priva.
¿Por qué os quexáis del alma que le cuenta?
¿Que no escriba, decís, o que no viva?
Haced vos con mi amor que yo no sienta,
que yo haré con mi pluma que no escriba.

Lupercio formed no school, as did his brother Bartolomé, who outlived him eighteen years and acquired a wide influence after his return from Italy, counting among his followers the poets don Esteban Manuel de Villegas, the Príncipe de Esquilache, don Fernando de Ávila y Sotomayor, and others. That Lupercio shared with his brother the admiration of at least one poet is evident from the following lines of the *Aganipe*

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[22] From a letter of Lupercio's wife, Biblioteca Nacional, *Ms. 1762*, fol. 27, it appears that don Juan died in 1591. In 1596 she appears as his heir.
[23] Both of whom are mentioned in the third *silva* of the *Laurel de Apolo*.
[24] *Quién osa defender, Ricardo mío, Rimas*, p. 85.
[25] Fac-simile edition by Archer M. Huntington, New York, 1903.

de los cisnes arogoneses celebrados en el clarín de la Fama[26] of Andrés de Ustarroz:

> Don Juan Campi[27] elocuente,
> cuyo ingenio valiente
> de uno y otro Leonardo
> imitó la dulzura y elegancia.

But Lupercio did not regard seriously his own poetic efforts. In Naples he burned such of his poems as were at hand; and he never composed, as Bartolomé did on more than one occasion, an *Ars Poetica*. He was essentially an historian and a man of affairs in whose footsteps Bartolomé followed in practically every phase of his public career; while in the field of poetry it was the latter who was given the preference. The estimate of contemporaries is well expressed by D. Bernado de la Vera in his *Panegírico de la poesía*:[28] "Los Lupercios (y especialmente el Retor) son los que justamente aspiran a la primacía." But the two men have more frequently been thought of together, and no imposing list of *elogios* is necessary to show the esteem in which the *Rimas* have been held since 1634.

Lupercio, through his relations with Lemos, became a patron of men of letters, as has been seen in the preceding chapter and as Ticknor pointed out. From an interesting note, apparently of Ustarroz, preserved in the Spanish Academy of History,[29] it appears that not only the Spanish writers already mentioned, but at least one Italian sought to obtain the favor of the Secretary of don Pedro and organizer of the *Oziosi*. In 1611 Giovanni Maria Porta dedicated to Lupercio Leonardo his book entitled *Magia naturale*[30] with these words:

> Al molto illustre signor Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, Secretario della Maestà dell' Imperatrice, Cronista maggiore del Rè Nostro Signore nella Corona de Aragona, et del Regno istesso, Secretario dell' excellentissimo Signor Conte di Lemos, vicerè di Napoli, etc.

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[26] Second ed., Saragossa, 1890, pp. 16–17.
[27] Archdeacon of Aliaga. He left various poems in ms.
[28] Quoted by Andrés de Ustarroz in the *Elogios*, op. cit.
[29] *Ms. H, 25*, fol. 129.
[30] Naples, 1611.

Two years after the writing of this dedication Lupercio died, when his intellectual powers were at their height and when much of his work was not yet completed. In our attempt to form an estimate of his achievement, we are stopped short at the year 1613, and as we consider the large portion of his work which was lost, we can only say with the Conde de Lemos:

> El Secretario Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola . . . es muerto, dejándome con el sentimiento que se debe a la falta de tan gran sujeto, de cuyo ingenio Aragón y toda España esperaba grandes frutos. Ha conformado su muerte con la integridad de su vida, con la cual y con su hijo que le sucede hallo algún consuelo.[31]

[31] *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 373.

XIII

The Tragedies[1]

At the time when Lupercio Leonardo was writing his tragedies, the Spanish theater was waiting and ready for a poet of genius to fuse the disparate elements then prevalent and create a new drama in which the spirit and ideals of the Spaniards might find expression. The materials were at hand. Practically every characteristic of the great drama of the following century had already appeared in primitive form. But there had not yet been developed a complete and satisfactory conception of what the new drama should be. The very plays that contain the germs of the *comedia nueva* reveal a groping after a definite norm. Generally lacking in action, they yet tend to produce violent and extreme emotions by means of a multiplication of horrors. The characters in general are without life; the dialogue is frequently mere declamation; the motivation is constantly weak and faulty; while the whole very seldom represents a unified structure, developed from a definite beginning to an inevitable end.[2]

In this period of transition the tragedies of Lupercio Leonardo hold an important place. Representing as they do an eddy in the current of Spain's dramatic development, they nevertheless offer a new conception of the dignity of the drama, and from this standpoint *Isabela* stands with Cervantes' *Numancia* as one of the most worthy productions of the *teatro antiguo*.

For the popular farces and comedies of intrigue which were to develop into the new *comedia* Lupercio had no sympathy, referring to them in the *Loa* of his *Isabela* as

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[1] For an account of the mss. in which these plays are preserved, see *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. XII-XIV.

[2] See Schevill and Bonilla, *Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Comedias y Entremeses*, Vol. VI. (*Introducción*), Madrid, 1922, pp. 24–25.

comedias amorosas,
nocturnas acechanzas de mancebos,
y libres liviandades de mozuelas,
cosas que son acetas en el vulgo. . .,[3]

and with characteristic aristocratic taste he turned to tragedy, to represent the punishment of crime and the frailty of human life before a select audience:

Vosotros, por no ser amigos de esto,
venís a ver los trágicos lamentos,
y la fragilidad de nuestra vida:
evidente señal de que sois tales,
que discernís lo malo de lo bueno,
para lo cual ternéis materia luego.[4]

Breaking with the purely classical traditions set for tragedy by Jerónimo Bermúdez in 1577 and followed by Virués in his *Elisa Dido*, Argensola adopted the new type of play created by Juan de la Cueva, which was written in four acts,[5] abandoned the unities and employed side by side the principal Italian verse forms and the national *versos cortos*. His inspiration he derives from Seneca through the works of Giraldi Cintio and Lodovico Dolce; with the result that he conceives of tragedy as a series of acts of bloodshed, all directed ostensibly toward showing that the wages of sin is death, although in the case of *Isabela* the choice of a national and patriotic subject, with the consequent elevation of the emotional tone, leads away from the abuses of the Senecan imitations.

The date of composition of *Isabela* should very probably be placed as early as 1581,[6] and from a line in the prologue it appears that it was performed at Saragossa, presumably by the com-

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[3] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 49.
[4] *Loc. cit.*
[5] That Argensola originally wrote his plays in four acts has been shown by Dr. J. P. W. Crawford in his *Notes on the Tragedies of L. L. de A.*, Romanic Review, V (1914), pp. 31–44 and in his *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 170.
[6] See *supra.*, pp. 23-24.

pany of Mateo de Salcedo.[7] The first speech gives a clue to the historical background, placing the date of the action between 1096, the date of the battle of Alcoraz, and 1104, the year of the death of don Pedro I of Aragon.[8] The theme is local, and in developing it the poet seeks to extol the spirit of martyrdom and self-sacrifice which in the early history of the Spanish church was so strong in Saragossa. With the conflict between Moors and Christians as background, "the plot revolves about the passion of King Alboacén of Saragossa for the Christian maiden Isabela, the central point being the determination of the latter to die with her lover Muley, a convert to Christianity, rather than yield herself to the enemy of her people."[9]

Beyond the references to the conquest of Huesca at the beginning of the play, there is nothing in the Spanish chronicles to serve as a basis for the plot, the execution of Isabela and Muley being taken from the episode of Olindo and Sofronia in the second canto of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, as first suggested by Schack. It is surprising that Ticknor[10] should have made the statement, with no qualification whatever, that "there are several old ballads on the subject of this play, but the historical tradition is in the *Crónica General*, Parte III, chap. 22, ed. 1604, ff. 83, 84." Both the ballads[11] and the chapter of the *Crónica* referred to by Ticknor tell the story of doña Teresa, daughter of King Bermudo of León, who in 984 was married against her will by her brother Alfonso V to Abdalla, Moorish king of Toledo, in order that the latter might help him against the king of Cordova. This account has but three points in common with the story of Isabela: the name Abdalla (Audalla), the secret conversion of a Moor to Christianity, and the rejection by a young Christian woman of the advances made by a Moorish

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[7] See Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the time of Lope de Vega*, New York, 1909, p. 591.
[8] Crawford, *Notes*.
[9] Crawford.
[10] *History of Spanish Literature*, Fourth Amer. ed., Vol. II, p. 82, note.
[11] *Casamiento se hacía* pub. by F. Wolf in his article *Ueber eine Sammlung Spanischer Romanzen* in the *Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wiss., Philos.-Hist. Classe*, Zweiter Band, Wien, 1851, p. 210; and two others referred to by Wolf: *En los reinos de León*, and *Forzado el rey don Alonso*, now available in Vol. X of the *Bib. de aut. españoles*, numbers 721 and 722.

king. There is nothing to justify our supposing a connection. Audalla as a Moorish name is exceedingly common, appearing in five of the *romances moriscos* published by Durán,[12] no one of which, however, is in the slightest way connected with our play. And doña Teresa could not possibly have been the original for Argensola's Isabela.

Numerous appeals to local patriotism are made: the treacherous massacre of the "Innumerable Martyrs of Saragossa" under Dacian in 304; the martyrdom of St. Engracia with her seventeen companions at the hands of the same persecuting *praeses;* the veneration for the Church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar as the first church of Christendom, founded by saints and angels, and similarly for the monasteries of Monte Aragón and San Juan de la Peña,—all these are recalled in the beautiful verses of the devout young son of Aragon. It is this spirit of Christian devotion which constitutes one of the chief beauties and merits of the play. But one example can be given. As a final taunt before her execution, Audalla, the King's counsellor, has caused to be exposed before Isabela the bloody remains of her parents and sister. Her laments at first are bitter and unrestrained as she finds her last comfort in this world turned to deepest anguish; but there comes a quick transition, and she recovers the exalted serenity befitting a Christian martyr:

> Pero yo, temeraria, ¿por qué lloro
> y las ilustres ánimas ofendo?
> Ellas ocupan ya las sillas de oro,
> las celestiales músicas oyendo,
> y yo, con imputar al fiero moro,
> la voluntad inmensa reprehendo.
> ¡Oh loca! ¿tú no sabes que del cielo
> procede lo que miras en el suelo?
> Dios quiso colocarlos de tal suerte
> entre los que contemplan su grandeza
> y dar a mi paciencia con su muerte
> un toque verdadero de firmeza.
> Ea, pues, Isabela, tú convierte
> en alborozo dulce esa tristeza.[13]

[12] *Bib. de aut. españoles*, Vol. X.
[13] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 130.

The best literary criticism of *Isabela* is that given by J. L. Klein in his *Geschichte des Dramas.*[14] He alone, of those who have studied the play, has pointed out the possibilities of greatness which it contains, but which the poet failed to develop because he lacked the necessary standards and the dramatic genius to create such standards for himself. One of the most striking scenes is that in which Isabela is torn between conflicting passions as she considers on the one hand the safety of her family, which makes necessary at least a pretense of yielding to the King's amorous advances, and on the other the loyalty which she owes to the God of the Christians and to her lover Muley:

> ¿A quién he de poner aquí delante,
> a la fe, o la patria, o al amante?
> Sin saber resolverme, voy confusa
> a los odiosos pies del Rey tirano,
> y con adulación, como se usa,
> le tengo de besar la fiera mano;
> juntamente buscar bastante excusa
> de refrenar su ciego amor profano.
> Incierta voy de todo: Tú me guía,
> estrella de la mar, dulce María.[15]

Here indeed, writes Klein, is every opportunity to create a tragic struggle: conflict, passion, pathos,—all these are latent in a situation which is in itself highly dramatic.[16] But the opportunity is apparently not sensed by the poet, and instead of the development which might be expected there follows an episode with but the slightest relation to the *fábula.*

The scene shifts and we find ourselves upon a plain outside the city walls, where Adulce, a refugee at Alboacén's court and for-

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[14] Vol. IX, Leipzig, 1872, p. 243 ff.
[15] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 97.
[16] "Das Beste freilich, um die Situation und den Seelenkampf tragisch zu machen: das tragische Pathos, die solchen Conflicten entsprechende,durch alle Vorgänge stürmende Leidenschaft, die tragische Seelenbedrängniss—diese freilich liegt dem Octavenstück im Magen, wie dem Walfisch der betrübte Prophet Jonas, aber ohne es, wie der Walfisch den Propheten, von sich geben zu können." *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

merly King of Valencia, in eloquent octaves complains to the trees of the cruelty of Aja, Alboacén's sister, who ever since Adulce's flight from his kingdom, has held his heart captive, nourishing his hopes only to mock him. The introduction of such subplots seems to have been demanded by the audiences of the time, and it is probably for this reason that classic simplicity and unity of action failed to please. Argensola, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, introduced them, apparently never calling into question their dramatic value.

Yet this very episode offers a second tragic situation which, separated from the story of Isabela, might have made an independent drama. Some three scenes after our introduction to Adulce, Aja in a similar monologue laments the death sentence which has been pronounced by the King against Isabella's lover Muley on the double ground of having adopted Christianity and having crossed the King in love. In her laments Aja tells of her unrequited love for Muley, prays to heaven to prevent the execution and expresses impatience that Adulce is so long in coming to the rendezvous which she has set for him in that place. He appears in the following scene (Sc. VII, Act II), and she demands of him that he save Muley, by influence if possible, by force if necessary. Adulce, who has pledged his word before learning the nature of Aja's request, is overwhelmed at the thought, but determines to keep his promise and leaves Aja confident.

But Adulce's mental struggle only becomes more intense. He realizes that were he to keep his vow to Aja, he would be guilty of treachery and ingratitude of the basest sort to Alboacén, and finding no other course open to him but death, he rides forth with his squire Selín, gives him a verbal message for Aja and stabs himself, requesting that his head be sent to her as a testimony of his death. "Again a noble and a touching figure, this Prince Adulce, deprived of his kingdom and of his love, yet unfortunately unable to win our tragic sympathy because he is so unexpectedly, so suddenly produced."[17] Thus in a second instance the poet, while possessing a latent sense of the dramatic,

[17] Klein.

has failed because his conception of the drama is rudimentary and incomplete.

A few other potentially dramatic scenes are to be found in the course of the plot, but in no case have they been given proper motivation and development. The third Act (of the printed versions) is almost entirely lacking in action. The martyrdom of the two protagonists is related by the messenger and the death of Adulce, by his squire Selín. Auzán and Zauzala discuss the attitude of the populace toward the executions and report the death of the King's Counsellor Audalla; and Aja herself tells Selín how, in her anger against her brother for the murder of her lover, she stabbed him in his bed and burned his remains, closing the action with her own leap into the lake beside the Palace.

It is generally stated that in the tragedies of Argensola, as in the dramas of the school to which he belonged, there is no psychological penetration in the development of the characters. To this statement Isabela represents an exception. In spite of the fact that from the very beginning (Sc. II, Act I) she has a premonition of her death and regards her martyrdom even with a certain eagerness, thus reducing the struggle and consequently the dramatic character of the piece, she is yet a woman of flesh and blood, of fears and hopes, of loves and antipathies, whose character is maintained to the end.

She first appears (Sc. II, Act I) praying for Muley, who has learned of the King's plans for the banishing of the Christians, and has gone to the Christian King don Pedro I to seek aid for the people of his adopted faith. Muley returns, expecting to find in Isabela an eagerness to match his own, and, on finding her sorrowful and downcast, doubts her constancy. Her reply[18] is beautiful in its expression of devotion, as she tells him that the dreaded decree has gone forth, and can be stayed only by her yielding herself to the tyrant. Ana, Isabela's sister, who is also present asks:

¿Y no hay algún intervalo?

and Isabela answers, revealing the true cause of her depression:

[18] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 71–74.

Sí lo hay, y aun en mi mano;
pero nunca Dios lo quiera,
porque es amar al tirano
y más vale que yo muera.

In Scene VI Isabela is told of Muley's confinement in the King's terrible dungeon. In one line she expresses her wish that she might suffer in his stead, and faints.[19]

There follows that scene (the first of Act II), in itself so lacking in good taste, in which the parents of Isabela ask her to feign love for Alboacén in order to prevent the carrying out of the decree of banishment. She is shocked on seeing them prostrate at her feet, and volunteers to grant any request, even to the surrender of her life.[20] Yet, as her father Lamberto develops the plan, her womanly instincts assert themselves, and he interrupts his long discourse on seeing how she is affected:

¿Por qué razón te turbas y suspiras?
¿Tan duro te parece lo que pido?[21]

The entreaties prevail, however. She promises; asks to be left alone; and finally determines to seek the royal presence, although without being able to plan her course. In Scene V she asks of Alboacén mercy for her people, but says no word that could give the King any hope of possessing her;[22] and on learning the fate of Muley she seeks to die in his stead. Alboacén is thus angered into ordering the execution of both lovers, and Isabela answers:

Ese fiero furor y tiranía
las vidas, cuando mucho, quitar puede;
Muley dará la suya, y yo la mía;
pero después la gloria que sucede
al martirio dichoso, no la quita,
ni tal jurisdicción se te concede;[23]

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[21] *Ibid*, p. 90.
[22] Klein seems not to have understood this scene: "Doch nicht ohne Beimischung einiger Krokodilenthränchen erheuchelter Liebesneigung." *Op. cit.*, p. 250. I can find nothing to justify these words.
[23] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 113–114.

and carried away by the thought of martyrdom, she exclaims:

> ¡Oh lazos apacibles y cadenas,
> temidas de los flacos corazones,
> por ser de tales ánimos ajenas!
> Ceñidme ya, dulcísimas prisiones;
> seréis preciosas arras de mis bodas,
> y del esposo dulce gratos dones.[24]

Before the execution she asks to speak with Muley, fearing that he may weaken in his resolve:

> ¡Ay Dios, si se cumpliese mi deseo!
> Temo que con temor de tu castigo
> dejes, Muley, tu fe; mas no lo creo;
> pero si yo me puedo ver contigo,
> bien sé que ganaremos hoy trofeo,
> y coronas de mártires gloriosos,
> contentos y purísimos esposos.[25]

At the stake it is she who shows the greater fortitude.[26] The executioners are awed in her presence.[27] And even the Moorish *alcaide* is forced to express his admiration.[28] Although the King's counsellor Audalla, himself basely smitten by her charms, has offered to save her life[29] should she yield herself to him, and has threatened to kill also her parents should she refuse,[30] she yet remains true to herself and to her faith, and dies repeating the name of Christ.[31]

There are no other characters in the play to support the rôle of Isabela. But standing thus alone she is one of the most beautiful and most complete characters of the *teatro antiguo*. Klein compares her favorably with Pauline of Corneille's *Poly-*

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[24] P. 115.
[25] P. 128.
[26] P. 137.
[27] P. 138.
[28] P. 131.
[29] P. 149.
[30] P. 150.
[31] P. 141.

eucte and gives the tragedy bearing her name the first place among the dramas of the classical school which had preceded it in Spain.[32]

Alejandra deserves no such extended treatment as has been given the better known of Argensola's plays. Based, as Dr. Crawford has shown,[33] on Lodovico Dolce's *Marianna*, it is a reflection of the Italian imitations of Seneca, and to review its horrors here could only be wearying. "The tragedy has two well defined actions: the desire of a Prince to avenge his father's death, and the insane jealousy of a King which finds satisfaction in the death of the Queen, thus combining the themes of *Hamlet* and *Othello*."[34] The action takes place in Egypt, but apparently is without any basis in the annals of the Ptolemies.[35] While the sub-plot of the love of Lupercio and Orodonte for Sila, as well as the conspiracy of Ostilo and Rémulo seems to be entirely of Argensola's invention,[36] the influence of *Marianna* is easily traceable from the *Loa* to the epilogue spoken by Tragedy. "The story," in the words of Ticknor,[37] "is full of loathsome horrors. Every one of its personages, except perhaps a messenger, perishes in the course of the action; children's heads are cut off and thrown at their parents on the stage; and the false Queen, after being invited to wash her hands in the blood of the person to whom she was unworthily attached, bites off her tongue and spits it at her monstrous husband.[38] Treason and rebellion form the lights in a picture composed mainly of such atrocities."

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[32] "Trotz aller dargelegten Mängel glauben wir doch, unter sämmtlichen spanishchen bisher in Betracht gezogenen Dramen der classischen Schule, dieser Tragedia Isabela . . . die Palme reichen zu dürfen. Die Glaubens- und Liebesheldin, Isabela, darf als ein würdiges und vielleicht nicht unbestreitbar und zweifellos übertroffenes Vorbild von des grossen Corneille 'Pauline' im 'Polyeucte' gelten." *Op cit.*, p. 253.

[33] *Notes on the Tragedies*, op. cit.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[37] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 81.

[38] W. von Wurzbach in his review of Dr. Crawford's *Sp. Drama before Lope de Vega*, pub. in the *Literaturblatt f. germ. und rom. Philologie*, 1925, p. 374, remarks that this incident is taken from a widespread legend, given by S. Hieronymus *in vita S. Pauli Eremitae*, *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. I, 605, and by Nicetas in Sabellicus, *Exempla*, Basel, 1560, V. 6.

In regard to the sources of the two plays, Schaeffer, in his *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*,[39] make the statement that "Argensola hat jedenfalls Virués vor Augen gehabt. Hätte er aber, statt dessen Schauerstücke, dessen Elisa Dido nachgeamt, so hätte er wenigstens ein Kunstwerk, wenn auch kein Drama geschaffen." This certainly is saying too much. It is true that there is a considerable number of ideas common to the tragedies of Virués and Argensola, but in no case can any borrowing be proved. There is not a trace in *Isabela* or *Alejandra* of the peculiar technique of Virués. The latter prided himself on his "innovation" of dividing his works into three acts, and sought to make each act a miniature tragedy in itself. Argensola, following Juan de la Cueva, wrote his plays in four acts, and paid but the slightest attention to the mechanics of dramatic composition. There is, furthermore, no relation between the conception of poetry held by the two writers. While the diction of Argensola is at all times pure and straightforward, Virués is constantly seeking after effect by means of exaggeration and repetition:

> Zapiro *buela* i llámame a Zelabo
> i di que *con presteza de aue o viento*
> i con sus valerosos camaradas
> hasta aquí siga *en buelo* tus pisadas.[40]

> Tiempo tendré para desencerrarme
> de un cautiverio infame i afrentoso
> que á ya diez i seis años que en mi *Reina*
> con título de *Reina* sin ser *Reina*.[41]

At times this is carried to absurd lengths, as at folios 23 *verso* and 24, where the words *letra*, *firma*, *sello* appear all three in each one of seven consecutive lines.

On the other hand, there are passages in *Isabela* and *Alejandra* which may possibly represent reminiscences from the plays of

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[39] Leipzig, 1890, Vol. I, p. 73.
[40] *Obras trágicas y líricas*, Madrid, 1609, fol. 3.
[41] *Ibid.*, fol. 18.

Virués. Lupercio, as we shall see, took from Giraldi Cintio's *Orbecche* the simile of a ship tossed by conflicting winds. Similar comparisons are frequent in Virués,[42] and to Schaeffer they may have pointed toward an influence of the latter upon *Isabela*. The idea of the fickleness of Fortune, of the unaccountable revolutions of her wheel, is a favorite one with Virués,[43] and appears also in Argensola.[44] *Atila furioso* declares that the first requirement of a king is to make himself feared. Argensola's King Acoreo adheres to the same belief.[45] Both poets express this commonplace idea:

> Pues es más vencerse a sí
> que vencer a todo el mundo;[46]

and either might have written the following lines:

> Si en los ásperos riscos
> del Cáucaso entre fieras no nacistes,
> si entre los basiliscos
> criados para tanto mal no fuistes,
> si no son vuestras almas piedra dura,
> doleos de mi terrible desventura.[47]

In *La Gran Semíramis*, in *Atila furioso* and in *Alejandra* a queen proves false to her husband and makes unsuccessful amorous advances to another. Fabio as a character-name appears in *La Cruel Casandra* and in *Alejandra*. The situation of Filadelfo in the latter play is slightly similar to that of Adulce in *Isabela*. Aja in *Isabela*, like the protagonist in *La Cruel Casandra*, determines to kill her brother who is responsible for the death of her lover. And Argensola's attitude toward the *vulgo* as given in the prologue to *Isabela* resembles somewhat the ideas expressed in the prologue to *La Infelice Marcela* of Virués.

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[42] *Ibid.*, fols. 10, 11, 60, etc.
[43] *Ibid.*, fols. 21, 22, 53, 72, etc.
[44] *Obras sueltas*, pp. 174, 267.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 247.
[46] Virués, *op. cit.*, fol. 7 *verso*.
[47] *Ibid.*, fol. 27 v.

But in all these parallels there is no proof of definite influence. The same ideas and situations might appear in any of the tragedies of the same school. It is possible, perhaps probable, that the young Aragonese poet had read in manuscript the earliest tragedies of his Valencian predecessor, and that from their perusal he had carried away certain impressions that found their way into his own dramatic works. But his master was Juan de la Cueva rather than Virués.

Klein sees a Euripidean reminiscence in the function of the *Nuncio* in *Isabela*,[48] and he refers as "euripideische Katastrophenmeldungen" to the conversation between Azán and Zauzala concerning the deaths which the day had witnessed; the report by Selín of his master's (Prince Adulce's) suicide; and Aja's confession of the murder of her brother Alboacén. For the rôle of the messenger there was ample precedent in the Italian plays used as sources by Argensola; and while we know that he studied Greek under Schott in the University of Saragossa at the same time that the chair of rhetoric in the same institution was held by Pedro Simón Abril, who in 1599 published a translation of Euripides' *Medea*, it is also certain that he was not consciously imitating classical drama, either Greek or Latin, and that such classical elements as appear in his dramatic works must be considered as having come to him indirectly or as representing reminiscences of his reading.[49]

Having thus disposed of Virués and Euripides as merely possible influences on *Isabela* and *Alejandra*, it is possible to indicate other unquestionable sources. For much of his *Alejandra*, Argensola is indebted to Dolce, as has been seen. The prologue to this play, however, while echoing certain parts of the prologue to *Marianna*, is largely taken from *Orbecche* by Giraldi Cintio. Reference to this has already been made in the biographical part of the present study (Chap. III), where parallel passages were reproduced in a different connection.

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[48] "Der Nuncio scheint der Schule des Euripides entlaufen, so anschaulich beredt spinnt er seine Katastrophengräuel aus."

[49] Euripides, Sophocles and Seneca are mentioned in the *Loa* of *Alejandra*.

The relationship becomes all the more clear as the prologues of the two plays are read through:

Alejandra.

Imagináis quizás que estáis ahora
contentos en la noble y fuerte España,
y en la insigne ciudad de Zaragoza,
ribera del antiguo padre Ibero,
debajo aquellas leyes tan benignas
que los Reyes famosos os dejaron,
atando la clemencia y la justicia
con tantas y tan grandes libertades.
¿Pensáis que estáis en tiempo de Filipo,
segundo Rey invicto de este nombre?
Y estáis (¡oh desdichados de vosotros!)
¿en dónde si pensáis? En medio Egipto,
ribera del famoso y ancho Nilo,
en la grande ciudad llamada Menfis,
en donde reina y vive un Rey tirano,
cuya fuerte palacio veis presente;
aquí la casa real tiene su asiento,
aquí se albergan hoy los infernales:
mirad en poco tiempo cuántas tierras
os hace atravesar esta Tragedia. . .[50]

Orbecche.

Forse pensarete
In Ferrara trovarvi, Città piena
D'ogni virtù, Città felice quanto
Ogni altra, che il Sol scaldi, o che il mar bagni,
Mercè della giustizia, e del valore,
Del consiglio matur, della prudenza
Del suo Signor al par d'ogni altro saggio;
E fuor del creder vostro tutti insieme,
Per opra occulta del Poeta nostro,
Vi trovarete in un istante in Susa,
Città nobil di Persia, antica stanza
Già di felici Rè, come or di affanno,
E di calamitadi è crudo albergo.
Forse vi par, perchè non v'accorgete
Velocissimamente camminare,

[50] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 169.

Che siate al vostro loco, e sete in via,
E già vicini a la Città ch'io dico.
Ecco quest' è l'ampia Città reale,
Questo è il real palazzo, anzi il ricetto
Di morti, e di nefandi, e sozzi affetti,
Di ogni scelleragine, ove l'ombre,
E l'orribili furie acerbo strazio
Porranno in brieve, e lagrimevol morte.
Ma che restate? Oimè! perchè nessuno
Di voi si parte? Forse vi pensate,
Che menzogna si sia ciò, ch'io vi dico?
Egli è pur vero; e già ne sete in Susa:
E nel tornar v'accorgerete bene
Quanti mar, quanti monti, e quanti fiumi
Avrete a varcar prima, che giunti
Ne siate tutti alla Cittade vostra.[51]

Orbecche also furnished the simile at the beginning of the soliloquy of Isabela which forms the second scene of Act II of the play in which she is protagonist:

Isabela.

Cual suele de los vientos combatida
en el soberbio mar hinchada vela,
los cuales a gran furia la relevan,
y con alternos soplos se la llevan;
el dudoso piloto no bien sabe
a cuál de los dos vientos seguir deba:
al uno vuelve ya la frágil nave,
y luego de seguir al otro prueba,
y en tanto que consulta el hecho grave,
éste y aquél a más andar la lleva,
y sin determinarse llega al puerto,
mucho más que el dudoso mar incierto:
de tal manera voy confusa el alma
a buscar el remedio de mi gente.[52]

Orbecche

Quasi nave, che in mar sia ai venti, e a l'onda,
Ch'or da crudel tempesta,

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[51] *Teatro italiano antico*, Vol. 4, pp. 124–125.
[52] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 96.

Che d'improvviso con furor l'assale,
Combattut' è, si ch'or da l'una sponda,
Ora da l'altra oppressa,
Si vede a canto aver la morte espressa:
E talor con eguale
Corso, senza alternar di poggia, od orza,
Con la soave forza
De l'aurette seconde
Solca del salso mar le tranquill'onde;
Ond' è piena talor d'ogni conforto,
E d'affanno talor lungi dal porto.
Però non voglio, che voi diate in preda
A la doglia la mente . . . [53]

Dr. Crawford has shown[54] that the messenger's account of the death of Isabela is in part a translation of the episode of Nisus and Euryalus found in the ninth book of the *Aeneid*. Reminiscences of this sort abound. Typically Virgilian are the following lines spoken by Audalla:

Cual toro que de lejos ve que asoma
el toro que a su vaca también ama,
de cuya vista nueva furia toma,
y con celosa voz gimiendo brama,
y ya su pastor mismo que los doma
elige de algún árbol gruesa rama
para ver la batalla temeroso
del animal feroz y más celoso:
no menos el colérico Rey moro . . .;[55]

and the following, spoken by the Viejo in praise of Isabela, combine images borrowed from the *In freta dum fluvii* of Virgil[56] and the *Integer vitae* of Horace:[57]

En tanto que el caudal del Ebro vaya
al poderoso mar Mediterráneo,

[53] *Teat. ital. antico*, IV, 124–125.
[54] *Notes*, p. 36.
[55] *Obras sueltas*, I, 82. *Cf. Aen.* XII, 103 and 716.
[56] *Aen.* I, 607 ff.
[57] Bk. I, Ode 22.

y en el alto Moncayo nieves haya
(nieves que por renombre le dan cano)
y en tanto que dividan y hagan raya
entre el aragonés y el aquitano
los altos y nevados Pirineos,
donde tienen los nuestros sus trofeos,
tus obras cantaremos excelentes,
si bien a la desierta Libia vamos,
o bajo de la zona los ardientes
y no sufribles rayos padezcamos,
y nuestra sucesión y descendientes
darán las mismas gracias que te damos;
los niños con la lengua ternezuela
repetirán el nombre de Isabela.[58]

Vergilian inspiration is seen in Alboacén's praise of friendship:[59]

Es la amistad el Mauritano Atlante
que la celeste máquina sostiene,
digo que es a tal monte semejante:
también nombre de monte le conviene,
porque por más que el cielo se revuelva,
y arroje rayos, y con ira truene,
y puesto que en cenizas se resuelva,
con furia de las llamas y los vientos,
la vieja cumbre de encinosa selva;
jamás mudan los montes sus asientos
ni los fieles amigos mudar pueden;[60]

and the *Integer vitae*[61] appears again in this declaration of Adulce:

Declárame, señora, qué deseas,
porque quiero que veas
cuán bien tus mandamientos obedezco.
Cultivar las arenas
de la Libia me ofrezco,
si para tal trabajo me condenas;

[58] *Obras sueltas*, I, 94–95.
[59] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 101.
[60] Cf. *Aen.*, IV, 246 and 441.
[61] Hor., Bk. I, Ode 22.

y si con las desnudas plantas quieres
que pase de la Scitia los helados
no tendré por difícil este hecho . . .[62]

It has generally been recognized that Argensola's tragedies represented, from the standpoint of versification, a distinct upward step in the evolution of the artistic drama. Certainly they represent an advance over the plays of Juan de la Cueva. Whether or not they form a link in the chain which extends from the early theater to the perfected drama of the XVIIth century, it is perhaps impossible to show.[63] The versification scheme of the two plays is here given:

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[62] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 119.

[63] Professor S. G. Morley says categorically that they do not (*Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1925, Vol. I, p. 524). A possible influence on Cervantes has been pointed out by Schevill and Bonilla in the *Introducción* to their edition of the *Comedias y entremeses* (Vol. VI, Madrid, 1922, pp. 23–24, etc.): "No sin misterio alaba Cervantes las comedias de Argensola. Hay, en efecto, notoria semejanza entre la técnica de uno y otro, aunque no sea fácil determinar quién influyó en su contemporáneo. Mas, como Argensola era poeta mejor dotado que Cervantes, puede suponerse que éste fijó su atención en las formas métricas del primero . . . En ambas obras [de Argensola] abundan los tercetos, las octavas, los versos sueltos, las estrofas, las quintillas y las redondillas. Probable es también que Cervantes admirase en Argensola la fuerza emotiva, la nueva entonación de sus escenas trágicas, el atrevimiento (muy raro, o desconocido hasta entonces) de su fórmula dramática; y asimismo debió de reconocer que Argensola, como dramaturgo, es mucho más impresionante que Cueva, lo cual equivale a admitir un progreso en el primero respecto del segundo."

From the standpoint of versification, all the elements mentioned in this paragraph could have come from Cueva as well as from Argensola. *Terza* and *ottava rima* and free verse were used freely by Spanish dramatists after the appearance of the two *Nises* of Bermúdez. Italian and national verse forms are combined by Cueva, Virués and Artieda. In regard to the *estrofas*, the types used by Cervantes in his early dramas (*El Trato de Argel*, *La Numancia*, *Los Baños de Argel*) are of the following types: the *Lira* of 6 lines and the stanza of 13 lines of 7 and of 11 syllables, with ryhme scheme abCabCcdeeDfF, the capitals representing the hendecasyllable lines. In *Alejandra* there are no *estrofas* at all. In *Isabela* they amount to 165 lines. But in no case do the types correspond to those used by Cervantes. Sc. VI of Act II contains four stanzas of 15 verses of 7 and 11 syllables, rhymed ABCBACcddEeFgfG. Scene VII of the same act contains a stanza and a half (21 lines) of the same type; while in Sc. VI of Act III there are three stanzas and a semi-stanza of a type of 20 lines (aBabBcDcdDefefFgHghH).

On p. 56 of the *Introducción* above quoted we read: "En la tragedia de la *Isabela* de L. L. de A., la Fama recita el prólogo, expresando ideas que coinciden con las de la Fama en la *Numancia*." I have compared the two passages carefully and find but one idea in common, that of *Fama* as *pregonera*. Neither passage influenced the other. Cervantes finds his inspiration in the *In freta dum fluvii of* Virgil.

ISABELA, *2670 lines*

Versos sueltos	Tercetos	Quintillas	Estrofas	Octavas	Sonnet	Redondillas	Miscellaneous
165	1235	270	165	816	14	.. —	5
6.1%	47%	10.1%	6.1%	30.5%			

ALEJANDRA, *2120 lines*

170	846	60	....	464	—..	580	....
8%	39.9%	2.8%		21.8%		27.3%	

In very general terms it may be said that free verse is preferred for exposition, *tercetos* and octaves for narration or for long speeches, *estrofas* for emotional narration and at times for dialogue, while the *versos cortos* are preferred when the dialogue is rapid. The one sonnet, recited by the spirit of Isabela, forms an epilogue.

Lupercio's system is marked by a fondness for *tercetos*. In this his tragedies resemble most closely certain ones of Virués,[64] although the relative importance given to *tercetos* and *octavas* is reversed. They are distinguished from those of Bermúdez by a preference for rhyme rather than free verse; from the work of Cueva by a greater proportion of *terza rima;* and from that of Rey de Artieda by the latter's use of the *copla real* in place of *tercetos*. A study of the works of all these men shows that in the construction of his tragedies Lupercio was following no one. He was using a polymetric system introduced into Spanish tragedy by Bermúdez, and adopted, with considerable freedom in each case, by the other tragic writers of the period. It was this system of the late XVIth century which was perfected by Lope de Vega.

Isabela and *Alejandra* were written when Argensola was in his

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It seems to me that the facts do not warrant the assumption of a direct influence. A very similar *fuerza emotiva* is indeed present in *Isabela* and *Numancia*, but that is all. The *notoria semejanza* in the versification of the two poets is to me but proof that they both belong to the school of Cueva. One has only to read the first *octava* of *Numancia* to be convinced that Cervantes is following the Sevillian rather than the son of Barbastro.

[64] *La Gran Semíramis* and *La Cruel Casandra*. *Atila* has but 2 pages of *tercetos; Marcela* (which contains 108 lines of *romance* in *e-e*), but 3 pages; *Dido*, none at all.

early twenties. They furnish, therefore, an interesting basis for the study of his development as a poet. Their first editor, López de Sedano[65] says that the technique of the plays is as good as that of the *Rimas*, and according to Wolf, "se mostraba ya en el autor de veinte años que las compuso el que algún día habría de ser maestro de la lengua y de la versificación."[66] It is not to be supposed that the young Lupercio polished the verse of his tragedies. They were undoubtedly written with hurrying pen. Of the 2670 lines of *Isabela* there is not one, however, that is incorrect as regards the number of syllables;[67] and there are very few showing misplaced accents. The chief faults are *ripios* and *acentos obstruccionistas*. There appears below an analysis of the imperfections which I have found in *Isabela*.[68]

At times there is a hyperbaton to meet the exigencies of the metre (eight examples):

Porque de la virtud difícil cumbre 47–3

In seven lines the accents or cæsuras are improperly placed:

Y, malgrado del gran Marón, tú, Dido 48–8
Hice lo que diré luego. Comienza 159–10

The following are examples of poetic license:

Mas antes con razón llorar *debría* 80–18
A tí sola su furia *comprehenda*[69] 108–9

Not infrequently a poverty of resources produces a prosaic line:

Que es la de él a la de ella semejante 64–9
Y por consiguiente, si procuras 89–9

[65] *Parnaso español*, Vol. VI, appendix.
[66] *Hist. de las literaturas española y portuguesa*, translated by Unamuno, Vol. II, p. 364.
[67] The line *Unas veces me hielo y otras me quemo* should read, as it is given in the Osuna ms., *Unas veces me hielo, otras me quemo;* the line *A la fe, o la patria, o al amante* should obviously be *A la fe, o a la patria, o al amante.*
[68] Numbers indicate page and line in the *Obras sueltas*, Vol. I.
[69] The pronunciation of *comprender* as a word of four syllables is said by Juan de Valdés to be a *vicio de los aragoneses.* Lupercio changes the number of syllables to suit his needs.

Occasionally a line is weak through lack of supernumerary accents:

O por la de la huérfana doncella. 139–1

Much more frequent than the *verso flojo* is the *verso duro*, made harsh by conflicting accents:

El ejemplo que digo se*rá* *par*te. 52–5

Of such lines there are one hundred four in *Isabela*. Similarly, I have counted twenty-eight which are padded, or are themselves brought in to round out a tercet or an octave.

Y si es (como lo es) de su costumbre. 53–19

Minor defects are excessive alliteration and assonance within a verse:

A Dios perdón y a ti piedad pidiendo 83–11
Qué debe hacer quien *amb*as cosas *ama* 96–21

Argensola's use of synalepha, hiatus, syneresis and dieresis conforms with the best practice of the Castilian poets. There is but one imperfect rhyme, and even here the Osuna manuscript gives a reading which remedies the defect. In general it may be said that the rhyming is easy, and although *según creo* is frequently linked with *deseo*, *veo*, etc., the poet in almost every case achieves variety by bringing in an unusual word: *refresca*, *soldadesca*, *Huesca*; *cierva*, *Güerva*, *yerba*. There are very few rhyme series composed entirely of verbal endings. More commonly an adjective or noun is introduced: *tuviste*, *triste*, *diste*. The adverbial ending *-mente* is not abused: *juntamente*, *gente*, *fácilmente*. The repetition of homonyms is not made objectionable, as it so frequently is in the other dramatic poets of the period: *falta* (n.), *falta* (v.); *tengo* (*amor*), *tengo* (*celos*), *vengo*, etc.

These same remarks apply to *Alejandra*, although in this play the versification is somewhat less careful, and the reader becomes

very conscious of the repetition of *Tolomeo* and *Acoreo* in connection with *feo*, *poseo*, etc. From this standpoint of repetition, the following statistics are of interest:

Work studied	Number lines	Number of rhyme words repeated	Number of rhyme words repeated more than once	Greatest number of times any one word appears
ISABELA	742	229	141	6
Act I		31%	19%	
DIVINA	First	153	31	4
COMMEDIA	742	20.6%	4%	

Considered in their entirety the tragedies of Lupercio Leonardo have only an historical interest. The stage of development that they represent was brief and produced a drama which, because of its artificiality and its misconception of the meaning of tragedy, was intrinsically of little value. Considered in the light of literary history, however, they are certainly as important as any of the tragedies of the period. In them are seen, as notes which will become characteristic in the great *éclosion* that is to follow, a fondness for sub-plot and episode,[70] a predominance of the lyrical over the purely dramatic, and, in the case of *Isabela*, the choice of a national subject. Their importance as another instance of the indebtedness of Spanish to Italian literature in the sixteenth century has been pointed out by Dr. Crawford.[71] Their value as documents for the study of Lupercio's versification will be more definitely shown in the chapter on the *Rimas*.

[70] E. g., the loves of Adulce, Aja and Muley in *Isabela* and of Orodonte, Lupercio and Sila in *Alejandra*.

[71] *Notes on the Tragedies*, op. cit., p. 44.

IV

The Histories

The historical works undertaken by Lupercio Leonardo were four in number: a translation of the *Annales* of Tacitus,[1] a history of Aragon before the Reconquest,[2] a history of Aragon under Charles V, and a report of the seditions in the same Kingdom in the years 1591 and 1592. Of these only the last has been preserved.

The translation of Tacitus was begun in 1592 or 1593 when Lupercio was serving as secretary to the Empress María. In its preparation he almost certainly used the new text of Tacitus established by Lipsius in 1574,[3] and we know that he possessed at least one Italian version. Maestro Franco, writing from Madrid in September, 1592,[4] says to Dr. Llorente: "He visto a Cornelio Tacito en Italiano, y por tenello ya Lupercio no sé si le compraré." By March of 1594 the work was apparently well under way, for on the eighth of that month Lupercio sent to Llorente an incomplete rough draft, asking his criticism and his opinion as to whether the task should be discontinued in view of the fact that another had already completed a translation of the Latin historian.[5] The following paragraph from the letter which accompanied the manuscript is the best exposition of the aim and method of the young translator:

> Aunque como digo es la primera forma, doy a Vm. en la margen alguna razón de las que me mueven a mudar de frasis quando hay peligro de escuridad en la letra: esto procuro que sea con tanto tiento que no pervierta el intento de seguir la sencillez y la gravedad de Tacito. Pero para qué me detengo en esto, pues Vm. lo ha de ver? Verdad es que si no me anima algún

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[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 49. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 50. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[4] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 1. Franco was an intimate friend of Bartolomé Leonardo, who adds a note to Llorente at the end of Franco's letter.

[5] I have searched in vain for trace of a Spanish version of Tacitus published at this time. The earliest known to me is of 1613.

amor propio no sé si podré proseguir, porque después que escribí a Vm., he sabido que uno de los que emprendieron este trabajo le ha llevado al cabo, y, aunque no creo que debe ser sujetándose a tantos preceptos como yo, al fin es gran cosa ser el primero y haber ocupado el gusto con la Historia; de manera que solamente me dexa la gloria del estylo, que aunque no es pequeña, consiste en menor número de personas. Sobre lo uno y lo otro aguardaré con mucho deseo su respuesta de Vm.[6]

I have found no other reference to this translation in the writings of Lupercio. It probably was never finished. The portion sent to Llorente seems not to have been returned, for we read in the *Elogios* of Andrés de Ustarroz:[7]

Dos pliegos he visto de su misma letra enquadernados con unos papeles curiosos del Doctor Bartolomé Llorente, y de su mano advierte [Lupercio] que pudo ser que continuara esta obra . . ., pero a nuestra noticia no ha llegado más que ésta.

While we regret the loss of the two *pliegos*, we may rejoice at the preservation of the letter to Llorente, for it shows the ideas with which Lupercio began his first attempt at a serious prose work: he was an admirer of simplicity and dignity of style and a follower of a high and self-imposed standard, qualities which were to develop and appear brilliantly in his *Información de los sucesos de Aragón*.

The *Historia general de la España Tarraconense* was begun in 1597. In May of that year Lupercio writes to Llorente asking for information which unquestionably was to be used in its preparation, but referring to it only as "una materia de gusto aunque de trabajo" in which he was occupied.[8] Two years later he definitely announced to him his plan, as follows:

Quod felix faustumque sit. Yo di principio a la *Historia general de la España Tarraconense*, o, por hablar más propiamente, de aquella parte que después de su recuperación de los moros se comprendió en la Corona de Aragón, cosa a mi parecer muy necesaria, porque, si bien tenemos desde entonces

[6] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix, 118, letter 1.
[7] Ms. cit., Ch. XXIII.
[8] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix, 118, letter 5.

historias y alguna tan bien escrita, cuanto a la diligencia, como la tenga otra provincia del mundo, es acéfala, y tomando el principio de anteayer; yo, siguiendo el camino de medio, no me he contentado con estas postrimerías, ni tampoco con repetir los tiempos de Túbal y las demás cosas de Joan Annio de Viterbo o de su Beroso y de otros escritores, sus secuaces: *lo uno porque están muy desacreditados, por más que el moderno Antonio de Guevara vuelva por ellos;* lo otro porque cuando fueran acreditadísimos, no tengo por de gran importancia escribir las barbaridades antiquísimas de aquellas gentes que no[9] conocieron el verdadero Dios. Y así, dejando aquellos siglos como materia ruda y sin forma, comienzo con los felicísimos tiempos de Augusto, en los cuales Dios envió a su Hijo y se echaron los fundamentos de la Iglesia.[10]

The methods used in gathering material for this history have been discussed in the biographical part of the present study,[11] and are chiefly noteworthy for the evidence which they give of a desire to exhaust every possible source of information. The first part of his book was to deal largely with ecclesiastical history, for, as he states in the letter quoted above, he wished to show the antiquity of the Christian religion in Aragon, the constancy with which it had there maintained itself and the evidence of its continued strength.[12] He was especially interested in supporting the tradition of St. James' preaching in Spain, then hotly contested at Rome,[13] and in reconstructing the military history of Aragon in the days of the reconquest.[14] But

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[9] The text of *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 330, suppresses the word *no*. This is an obvious error. Cf. the same sentence as quoted by Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[10] Letter to Llorente, April 29, 1599. *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 329–330.

[11] Cf. *supra*, p. 50 ff.

[12] To this end he consulted Llorente for the details of the history of the Church in Saragossa, and corresponded also with the Archpriest of Saragossa, the Dean of Huesca, the Bishop of Barbastro and other scholars of Aragon. Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 15. A letter from the Bishop of Barbastro is preserved in the Real Academia de la Historia.

[13] Llorente, as Prior of the Aragonese church most closely connected with the tradition, was best fitted to help Lupercio in this matter. To him he writes in the summer of 1600: "Yo, después de mucho trabajo y grandes consultas, me resolví en no disputar en medio de mi Historia . . . sino constar sencillamente lo que essa Santa Iglesia tiene admitido, y en los lugares donde los contrarios dudan, hazer una paráfrasis breve que quite la dificultad sin estruendo de argumentos." Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 118, letter 7.

[14] Lupercio says in his second speech before a literary academy of Saragossa: "Considerando yo que los más de vuesas mercedes son caballeros aficionados al ejercicio militar . . . deseo que alguno de vuesas mercedes se aficione a imitar a Lipsio, y que así como él tan doctamente describió la

the work was never finished, and the product of these researches was lost. Ustarroz knew it only in the rough drafts which he had seen in the possession of the writer's grandson, Miguel Leonardo de Albión. The place it would have occupied was taken in 1622 by the *Historias eclesiástica y secular de Aragón* of Vicencio Blasco de Lanuza.[15]

The *Historia de la España Tarraconense* was intended to furnish an introduction to the *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* of Jerónimo Zurita, which began with the capture of Saragossa from the Moors in 1118.[16] Lupercio, in his capacity of Historiographer of Aragon, prepared and all but finished another historical work which would have been a continuation of Zurita. This was the *Historia de Carlos V*.[17] In this field Argensola had been preceded by fray Prudencio de Sandoval,[18] whose tedious work he complains of having to read; but there was still room for a new and authoritative history of the great Emperor. Lupercio's difficulty lay rather in the fact that he was attacking the problem from a special viewpoint, that of recording a period of the history, not of Spain, but of Aragon, as he indicated to the Deputies in 1612:

> Si yo huviera de elegir materia para otro escritor, ninguna antepusiera a ésta, pero para mí no se me pudiera ofrecer más difícil. Primeramente el proseguir una Historia escrita en tantos años, con tanto cuidado, aprovada con tanta razón, y que cada día gana aficionados, era exponerse al peligro de la comparación, y al juicio de inferioridad, que tan duro es para los yngenios,

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milicia romana . . . así éste nos descubriese los ejércitos, milicia, armas y máquinas de los españoles . . . Deseo saber qué eran y cómo usaban de los paveses y lanzas; qué cosa era pespunte y loriga; cómo formaban las mantas o gatas; qué máquina era el funebol, el magaret, el trabuco y otros semejantes; qué oficio era el de los adalides . . . ; los almogávares qué milicia eran . . . ¿Qué diré . . . de las naves que apenas conocemos, jávidas, carracas, laúdes y otras semejantes? Vuelvo a decir que sería muy loable trabajo . . . [y que] en mí a lo menos tendría este tal libro un lector, o este tal maestro un discípulo muy deseoso." *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 320–321. These matters Lupercio was undoubtedly investigating for himself, using as sources the works suggested to this same audience of academicians: the chronicles of don Jaime I, don Pedro IV, Ramón Muntaner and others.

[15] Saragossa.

[16] Cf. *supra*, p. 50 ff.

[17] Cf. *supra*, Chap. X.

[18] The histories of Juan Ginez de Sepúlveda and of Pero Mexía were still unpublished.

El buscar en autores extrangeros los hechos de este Príncipe, *averiguar qué tanta verdad contienen*, oponerse a sus calumnias, tampoco careze de grandes dificultades; pero la que más me daba que pensar era el hallar lugar a la historia de Aragón entre las hazañas y los sucesos de este Monarcha, porque como en su persona se unieron inseparablemente todos los Reynos, y concurrieron en sus victorias, es el querer señalar la parte que de ellas cupo a cada uno, dentro del mar pretender dividir las aguas de los ríos; porque ya no se podrá llamar de aquí adelante historia de Aragón, de Castilla, ni de otro particular Reyno, la que se escriviere de nuestros reyes.[19]

Lupercio had scarcely entered upon his duties as Historiographer of the Kingdom when there came to him the opportunity to go to Naples as Secretary of State to the newly appointed Viceroy.[20] Ordinarily it would not have been possible to accept the two appointments, but here was a chance to collect in Italy first-hand material on the Emperor's relations with that country. On March 9, 1610, he wrote to the Deputies of Aragon asking permission to absent himself from the Kingdom, and on the same day a three years' leave of absence was granted him.[21]

During those years he spent two hours each day on his History, and in September, 1611, he wrote to don Martín Bautista de Lanuza, Justiciary of Aragon:

Estas dos horas de silencio las ocupo en la Historia, la qual me a obligado a sufrir a fray Prudencio de Sandobal, y a leer muchos tratadillos latinos de jornadas y cosas particulares de Carlos Quinto. Ojalá de las cosas de España huuiera hallado tanta luz como de las de Alemania, África y Italia, que ay autores alemanes muy puntuales y curiosos. E hallado en este Reyno un señor de 80 años, sobrino de Paulo quarto, que fué su Nuncio y trató con el Emperador negocios graues. Áme dado noticia de nuebas particularidades. Tengo en mi poder las cartas que en aquellos tiempos escriuió a don Pedro de Toledo, y tanta noticia de todas aquellas materias que entonces pasaron que, como digo, me haze dessear lo que me falta de las cosas de España, y señaladamente de las de Aragón. E començado a escriuir y dexaré sus lugares vacíos para que entren las cosas desse Reyno, de las quales me han de informar

[19] Letter dated Naples, Jan. 14, 1612, copied in Ustarroz, *Progresos*, ms. cit., f. 170.
[20] Cf. *supra*, p. 88.
[21] Cf. *supra* p. 87 ff. and *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 363.

los procesos de las Cortes, los Registros de los actos comunes del Reyno, algunas relaciones que pienso pedir a las ciudades y a los cabildos, y algunos papeles, *si los hallare dignos de fee*, en poder de personas curiosas.[22]

Here again we see the critical spirit of Argensola. His sources are primary. He tests all documentary evidence to see if the documents are *dignos de fee*. And it is especially interesting to note his recognition of the superiority of German scholarship in the field of history.

On December 28th, 1612, he wrote to the Deputies that, except for those parts which he had left to be filled in after his return to Spain, the work was finished.[23] But the common fate of his writings overtook it, and Ustarroz (*Elogios*) reports that the author's grandson possessed merely a few fragments. The loss of a work so carefully and competently prepared is a calamity. It is inconceivable how Lupercio's son, who assumed responsibility for his father's papers upon the latter's death in Naples, should have failed to preserve the manuscript.

Mention has already been made of the circumstances which led to the writing of the *Información de los sucesos de Aragón*.[24] The Deputies of the Kingdom, resenting the interpretation, or the lack of it, given by various historians to the revolts at Saragossa in 1591 and 1592, and finding it impossible to suppress the works of the offending authors, commissioned Lupercio Leonardo to write a defense of their nation. Nowhere, however, is there a direct allusion to the authors whose assertions are refuted; and so great was the fear of offending the powerful that an effort is usually made to excuse them: "No nombraré a ningunos," writes Lupercio, "porque no quiero avergonzar a los que erraron de ignorancia, de quien se espera enmienda, ni honrar a los que de malicia, si estuvieren pertinaces."[25] And his brother Bartolomé, writing in 1625, goes even farther in his conciliatory attitude:

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[22] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 121.
[23] Letter copied by Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–34.
[24] Cf. *supra*, p. 68ff.
[25] *Información*, p. 1.

Aunque a los tales, o porbenignidad se les deve perdonar, o presumir que carecen de ambas culpas [ignorancia o malicia], por no afligirlos con el perdón. Y por ventura nos estaría mejor no caer en la cuenta (ni en la noticia) de los que, o con su incapacidad o con sus afectos, infaman la historia.[26]

We cannot be sure who these authors were, for I have found no history of the disturbances in Aragon published before 1608. It is evident, however, that much ink was spread during those memorable years, and that pamphlets, printed and in manuscript, scattered the news of that "topic of the day" far and wide through the Peninsula. Gallardo in his *Ensayo* lists the following *Memorial del obispo de Segorbe para el Rey, sobre los Reyes de Aragón, quiriendo probar que todos han sido Tiranos: fecho año 1590,* and also a *Perdón publicado por mandamiento de la S.C.R. Magestad del Rey, en la ciudad de Zaragoza a 17 días del mes de enero del año 1592. Con licencia, impreso en Sevilla en casa de Juan de León, por original impreso en Valladolid. Véndese a Puertas de Cabildo de esta ciudad de Sevilla, por Pedro Moreno de la Rea. 1592.*[27] And we can, from the terms of the *Información* itself, and from more specific references made later,[28] form a clear idea of the nature of the assertions which so offended the Aragonese.

It was, in the first place, entirely possible for a conscientious historian, well informed as to the external facts, but ignorant of their remote causes, to present an account which would seriously misrepresent the Kingdom. This was done by the Castilian Antonio de Herrera[29] whose "injuriosos escritos' Bartolomé Leonardo sought to refute,[30] and whose chief fault appears to have been a failure to interpret the facts he recorded

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[26] *Alteraciones populares de Zaragoza, Año 1591.* Bib. Nac., *Ms. 12985* fol. 3

[27] B. J. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos,* Madrid, 1863–1889, Vol. I, cols. 382 and 1237 respectively.

[28] Father Murillo gives in chaps. 17 and 18 of his *Fundación milagrosa del Pilar,* Saragossa, 1622, a list of authors to whose writings he takes exception, and is himself included in such a list by Bartolomé Leonardo. Cf. letter of the latter to fray Jerónimo de San José, *Obras sueltas,* II, pp. 331–334.

[29] *Tratado, relación y discurso histórico de los mouimientos de Aragón sucedidos en los años de mil y quinientos y nouenta y uno, y de mil y quinientos y nouenta y dos,* Madrid, 1612.

[30] *Obras sueltas,* II, p. 333.

in the light of their causes and from the Aragonese viewpoint. The same charge may be made against Cesare Campana, one of the "autores extranjeros" objected to by Father Murillo. In the *Supplemento* to his *Vita del Catholico . . Don Filippo Secondo d'Austria, re delle Spagne, con le guerre de' suoi tempi,*[31] some two pages are given to the strife in Aragon in 1591 and 1592. To the Italian writer the expedition of don Alonso de Vargas to Saragossa was but another of the *guerre*, and his account makes it seem a mere rebellion.

In the second place, there was a widespread belief that at the *Cortes* of Tarazona (1592) Philip II had destroyed the constitution of Aragon by a complete abolition of the *fueros*. The Venetian ambassador so wrote to his Government, and the majority of the foreign writers adopted this view, which was not without adherents in Castile.[32] In this there was much truth,[33] but no one in Aragon was able to consider the legislation enacted at Tarazona in its true spirit. The letter of the law remained, and in those times of *leguleyismo* the law itself was everything. Argensola is justly included by Professor Giménez[34] among these *leguleyos*. He was a man of his time and of his party, and his views suffer from the misconceptions of both.

Argensola's task was thus to make clear to the world that Aragon had not been in open rebellion, and that consequently the Kingdom had not suffered humiliation at the hands of an angry King. To accomplish this he found it necessary to

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[31] Vicenza, 1605–1608; Vol. III, Parte quarta, Deca Settima, Libro Sesto, folios 41–42.

[32] *Historia de las alteraciones de Aragón en el reinado de Felipe Segundo*, por el Marqués de Pidal, Madrid, 1862, Vol. III, pp. 145–146.

[33] Cf. Andrés Giménez Soler, *Las alteraciones de Aragón en tiempo de Felipe II*, Saragossa, 1917, pp. 217–218: "Todos los historiadores procuran demostrar que no mató nuestras libertades, que las Cortes de Tarazona no son principio de una nueva era; pero es que la imagen les parecía realidad viva; desde entonces no hay en Aragón más poder efectivo que el del Rey y se conservó aquella sombra de constitución a la antigua por creer consustanciales el armatoste legislativo y la existencia del reino. Se impusieron los partidarios de la tradición, pero no de la genuina, de la buena tradición aragonesa, sino de la forjada por los juristas . . ., y se conservó todo lo perturbador, la Diputación y el Justicia, el procedimiento de las firmas y manifestaciones, como medios de burlar la ley."

[34] See preceding note.

devote the first 25 of the 56 chapters of his book to historical antecedents, and some discussion of these antecedents cannot be avoided here. In the Middle Ages the Aragonese were leaders in constitutional progress, and before the time of Magna Charta they had already won valuable privileges, their two great charters of liberty, the General Privilege (1283) and the Privilege of Union (1287) being outstanding documents in the history of international jurisprudence.[35] But these very privileges, granted by various kings since the twelfth century, confirmed by each succeeding sovereign, and forming a body of *fueros* which was in fact a constitution, had by the sixteenth century become unsuited to the society which lived under them and had led to endless abuses.

From an untrammeled development of the primitive Aragonese constitution, a democracy similar to that worked out in England might have been expected,[36] but the opposite tendency prevailed. Already before the union with Castile the crown had begun to assume more and more power. With the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella the centralization was given a new impulse; and under a modern centralized monarchy the purely medieval organization of Aragon could not possibly persist. The change was already perceptible in the fifteenth century, and the Aragonese, feeling that something very valuable was being lost, sought to arrest the process of change. The old laws obviously produced bad effects, but the reformers, laying the trouble to the charge, not of the laws, but of the men who administered them, sought to restore the old tradition by creating new legal guarantees: "Quisieron asegurar la tradición, fijarla y hacerla inmutable y se encerraron en un capullo, del cual si salían había de ser para morir."[37] There grew up an interminable list of tribunals, of checks and counterchecks, to the end that no innocent person should suffer, even though many who were

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[35] G. T. Northup, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature*, Chicago, 1925, p. 6.
[36] Manuel Marraco, in his *Prólogo* to Giménez Soler, *op. cit.*, p. XIV. The following discussion is taken from Giménez Soler and the Marqués de Pidal, *opera citata*.
[37] Giménez Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

guilty went free.[38] Saragossa became a refuge for lawbreakers, because "con los fueros y leyes en la mano se podía retener preso a un hombre sin culpa, y con la ley en la mano se dejaba ir suelto y libre por las calles al delincuente."[39] That which was created as a public safeguard had become a public menace, and Saragossa's famous *Privilegio de Veinte*, responsible to no small degree for the disasters of '91, was but a violent means of remedying these abuses when they could no longer be borne.

The problem had also a broader aspect. Spain under Charles V, rather than a nation, had been an aggregate of nations, and the new State had to struggle with the old nationalities. Philip II was the first king of all "las Españas," the first to have one capital city. The *fueros* of Aragon, which formerly had been a check against the Aragonese kings, were now a check against Madrid, and their importance and power were exaggerated. Aragon, which had remained quiet during the wars of the Castilian *Comunidades* and of the Valencian *Germanías* in the time of Charles V, and which continued to be quiet during the first years of the reign of Philip II, gradually became the scene of a passionate struggle which culminated at Tarazona in 1592.

The struggle was inevitable, and there existed in Aragon itself the forces which finally gave the victory to Castile. The nobility and the clergy favored the *fueros*, which gave to the first unlimited power over their vassals, and to the second a distinguished place in the management of the affairs of the Kingdom. And yet their policy is frequently vacillating, and they seek to receive a double reward. While the *fueros* meant power and privilege at home, the favor of Madrid meant distinction, advancement, *mercedes*, in the larger field of the Spanish monarchy. They thus became opportunists. The great tragedy of the *sucesos de Zaragoza* is that the honest men, with perhaps three exceptions, were unable to take a determined stand. The third estate opposed the *fueros*, which, although they gave to the rest of Aragon an excess of power and liberty, plunged the great vassal populations into the most abject misery and deprived

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[38] *Información*, p. 67.
[39] Giménez Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

them of every human right. They therefore at every opportunity identified themselves with the centralist party, refusing obedience to their overlords and creating a state of anarchy with a view to having the King step in and take over the ancient fief. The King's counsellors at Madrid favored in every possible way the extension of the royal power. The Roman Empire was their ideal. They had little understanding of the advantages of a limited monarchy, and they looked upon all attempts to maintain local privilege as acts deserving of punishment. In this they went farther than the King, in spite of the fact that Philip II was at all times most jealous of his authority.

Events played into the hand of the Monarch. Encroachment after encroachment was made on local independence, with abuses, acts of violence and even crimes on both sides, although both sides would doubtless have argued that the end justified the means. The result was that Aragon was in a state of nervous excitement and suspicion, so that the coming of Antonio Pérez to Saragossa was an incident, rather than a cause, in the loss of Aragonese independence.[40]

This state of affairs was realized only in part by Argensola. He was aware of the attempts that had been made by Madrid to break down the local power, and of the extent to which individual ministers of the King[41] were responsible for them. But he could not understand the political and sociological principles involved; and his first effort, after tracing the development of the constitution since the earliest times, was to prove the benignity of Aragonese law:

> No hai lei en este reino que no esté fundada en precepto, o consejo evangélico, derecho común, o razón natural . . . Causa admiración ver quán a bulto son condenadas estas leyes de los extrangeros, y señaladamente españoles, que las ignoran de todo punto . . . Lo que dicen los apóstoles San Pedro y San Judas, que hai muchos que blasfeman de todo lo que ignoran, esto me admira en gente de ingenio, y que piensa que tiene letras, no pesar la razón, sino a ojos cerrados decir mal de los fueros y leyes de Aragón, no

[40] The *fueros*, although largely deprived of their effectiveness after 1591, remained nominally in force until the reign of Philip V.

[41] Especially Rodrigo Vázquez and the Conde de Chinchón.

considerando que las leyes son muertas quando no tienen buenos ministros que las executen, y que más fácilmente estará en ellos la culpa del abuso, que son hombres sujetos a varias imperfecciones, que en las leyes, que se hicieron sin pasión, y concurrieron en hacerlas tantos prudentes. Y si dice Cristo que en dos o tres congregados en su nombre asistirá, ¿cómo quieren contradecirle negando que entre tantos cristianos eclesiásticos y seglares falta esta congregación y asistencia? . . . Presupuesto lo dicho trataré ahora de la *manifestación de persona, que es uno de los más santos remedios que hai en este reino para evitar la cólera de los reyes o de sus ministros.*[42]

His method of defense then becomes one of simple statement of fact, and frequently, rather than a defense, the facts constitute a silent condemnation of the Kingdom. This has been taken for impartiality: on the first page of the *Información*, Lupercio refers to his "intento, que es escribir para que otros juzguen, sin mover los afectos, como si esta causa se tratara delante los lacedemonios o atenienses." In fact, this attitude was forced upon him. He was in the employ of the Deputies, charged with writing a defense of Aragon. He was also a salaried minister of the King, and as his Historiographer was required to correct such histories as should seem unfavorable to the Crown.[43] And finally he knew only too well that the powerful anti-Aragonese party at Court was to be feared.[44] No

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[42] *Información*, pp. 17–19. Italics mine.

[43] See terms of his appointment, *supra*, p. 63. There is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional a document (*Ms. 6121*, fols. 35–44) which shows in a very personal way Lupercio's attitude toward his history. It is in the form of a letter, without heading, date or signature, and begins: "Ayer en presencia del mismo portero que traxo el libro y su carta de vuestra merced escriuí lo que me pareçió a propósito sobre los aduertimientos que esse personage (bien quisiera sauer quién es) a hecho sobre mi libro, aunque no los ley sino de priesa. Aora que los e leydo de espaçio diré más largamente mi pareçer y resoluçión para que vuestra merced la comunique a essos señores." It is thus a reply to anonymous criticisms and suggestions, some of which are accepted, some refuted in the most vigorous terms. In reply to his critic he says: "Ni quiero ser auisador del Rey, mayormente siendo como soy su Chronista Mayor en la Corona de Aragon, y estando a mi cargo el reformar las historias descomedidas."

[44] "Y que viuen oy algunas de las personas a quien quiere [el aduertimiento] que se dé toda la culpa, muchos deudos y amigos de Rodrigo Vázquez; que es menester seruir al tiempo y ganar la boca a la naçión, en quien más combiene sellar nuestra verdad; y finalmente, que no se deue mentir, mas tampoco se deue dezir todo lo que se sabe. La verdad se trasluze y el que fuere discreto entenderá bien lo que se calla." *Ms. cit.*

other course was open to him but to keep absolutely to the truth,[45] to let the facts speak in behalf of the fidelity of the Kingdom as a whole and against those who were deserving of blame,[46] and to throw upon the *vulgo* the responsibility for the sentiment against the King's ministers.[47] In reply to the *advertimientos* he explains exactly his position:

> [Lo] . . . que pretende este libro es artificiosamente persuadir la verdad, y como Lucreçio, engañar al lector untando la orla del vaso con miel, para que como niño enfermo beua la medicina amarga . . . Pienso que con artificio se responde vastantemente no sólo a los que an escrito contra el Reyno, sino a muchos que hablan y creen que solamente en el castigo y pertinacia no somos semejantes a los flamencos.[48]

This system he follows throughout the text. The introductory chapters, in spite of their terseness, enable one to read between the lines the injustice wrought by Philip and his advisers in favoring the uprisings of vassal against lord for many years before 1591. The seditions could not have continued had the Court been willing that they be put down. The chapters dealing with Antonio Pérez show conclusively that, while Aragon as a whole was loyal to the King, the violence being motivated by a small number of nobles, followed by a crowd which the events of the previous ten years had prepared for any act of insubordination, the disaster was due also to the fear and

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[45] "Respondo [al aduertimiento] que en todo esto escriuo verdad y me pareze necessario para los fines arriua dichos y que carezco de toda pasión. Amigo mío era don Ramón Cerdán: *Amicus Plato*, se dize por proberuio, *sed magis amica Veritas*." *Ms. cit.* The *advertimiento* accuses Argensola of being unjust to Cerdán.

[46] "Para ser bien recebida esta información es menester que juntamente sea confesión de las culpas que hubo: yo a lo menos libremente digo que sin esto no me atreuo a tan gran empresa." *Ms. cit.*

[47] "Esto se hizo con mucho disgusto del vulgo, que decía que el Justicia pendía de la voluntad de los ministros reales." *Información*, pp. 46–47. There is no doubt that the Conde de Chinchón gave a bad turn to the affairs of Aragon on every possible occasion. Once Argensola makes bold to name him. "El rei era justiciero, y no faltaba quien le incitase a exercitar aquella virtud; porque el conde de Chinchón, gran privado suyo, era primohermano del marqués de Almenara, y con el nuevo delito resucitaba el primero en que fué muerto [el marqués], que pudiera castigarse sin tanto estruendo." *Información*, pp. 106–107.

[48] Bib Nac., *Ms.* 6121, fols. 34–44.

inactivity of all the authorities in Saragossa and especially to the declaration, based not on law but on fear, of the tribunal of the Justiciary. In regard to the second charge made by the *autores extranjeros*, namely that the constitution of Aragon had been destroyed, the reply was less difficult, and in a statement of the facts neither the King nor the Kingdom could be offended.[49] The records of the *Cortes* furnished ample proof. Lupercio says:

Muchos extrangeros, donde la fama del suceso llegó desnuda de todas estas cosas que he contado, piensan que el rei entró en Aragón como vencedor, armado y victorioso, privando, según lei de guerra, a los vencidos[50] de sus privilegios; y a mí me lo han dicho y porfiado en Castilla muchos hombres no vulgares . . . Las leyes y fueros de Tarazona fueron hechas por el rei y por los aragoneses[51] . . ., habiéndose de voluntad del rei y de los quatro brazos constituido las leyes que para el buen gobierno juzgaron, según los casos precedentes que mas convenían, *sin alterar ni mudar la forma antigua que en el reino había en hacer o corregir leyes.*[52]

There follows an abstract of all the legislation enacted at Tarazona, and at the end of it appears this statement which may be taken as the conclusion of this part of the book:

Esto contienen los fueros de Tarazona, y no hai otra cosa en contrario. Según esto, véase qué cosa hai más agena de verdad que decir que el rei ha

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[49] Although it was claimed by some that the presence of the King's army in Saragossa hampered freedom of action at Tarazona. That Argensola felt this to be the case is shown by his answer to the last of the *advertimientos* (*ms. cit.*), which offers another example of the author's guarded attitude in every statement made. ADUERTIMIENTO. "Estas palabras pareze a algunos que se deuieran quitar, pues las Cortes no se pudieron tener ni celebrar con la libertad que otras, y perdimos mucho en ellas, y assí es bien que se entienda que no nos aplacieron, por que algún día podamos alegar que en ellas hubo opresión." LUPERÇIO. "Confiesso que es muy importante y aun caso necesario dexar puerta para esta quexa . . . mas no la cierran estas palabras. No estuuo la violençia en la conuocaçión de las Cortes sino en el discurso de adelante y en el modo de proçeder, que nadie puede negar que si las Cortes tubieran los requisitos necesarios, no era el remedio más a propósito que se podía dessear, como digo. . . Preuine esto en lugar oportuno, de manera que no se puedan notar los aragoneses de pusilánimes en estas Cortes, ni si en otras no recuperaren lo que dize el aduertimiento que perdieron en éstas, y sin obligarlos al cumplimiento desta tácita amenaça; y basta para los discretos dezir que al fin el Rey se vistió el trage de la tierra."

[50] The text reads *vencedores*, an obvious error.

[51] *Información*, p. 189.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 187. Italics mine.

quitado al reino de Aragón privilegios, si para hacer estos fueros llamó a Cortes.[53]

Argensola's conclusions are wrong. The constitution was only a shadow of what it had been;[54] and legislation could not save a corrupt society from its own corruption.[55] Yet the value of his book is scarcely diminished thereby. It is undoubtedly the most trustworthy contemporary account of the *sucesos*.[56] He and his brother Bartolomé took an active part in them, as has been seen. His brother Pedro attended the Justiciary during the hours before his execution. For other matters he had recourse to original documents, many of which are inserted in his text, or to the testimony of eye witnesses.[57] The defects of the work were inherent in its nature. It was not a history, but an apology,[58] and consequently chronology, which means so much to a modern investigator,[59] meant little to Lupercio and to his contemporaries, already familiar with the facts;[60] and while of necessity it was written with a caution which needs to be

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[53] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

[54] See *supra*, p. 133, note 33.

[55] "Una nación como era la de Aragón a fines del siglo XVI, cuyo clero se ha descrito: cuya nobleza sólo pensaba en fiestas y recreos, en quisquilleos y puntos de honor, según el virrey; ignorante, dominadora y cruel con sus vasallos, según veremos: una clase media compuesta o de mercaderes muy ricos, antiguos judíos, o de leguleyos, y un pueblo hambriento y deseoso de vestir hábitos para escapar del campo y dejar el arado, no podía tener más que un gobierno corrompido para las clases corrompidas y tiránico para los ignorantes." Giménez Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[56] "Indudablemente el historiador más veraz de aquellos sucesos es Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola. . . ." Giménez Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 1.

[57] "Todo lo que escriuo de Teruel es por relaçión del Sr. Doctor Abengochea, a quien me remito." Bib. Nac., *Ms. 6121*, fols. 35–44, answer to *advertimiento* 16. Abengochea was the supreme magistrate of Teruel at the time of the seditions in that city.

[58] "Si yo hubiera de escriuir historia de nuestros tiempos, muy de otra forma la escriuiera." *Ms. cit.*

[59] "Su obra adolece del gravísimo defecto de no seguir orden de tiempos." Giménez Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 1.

[60] "No tengo cuidado de decir en qué tiempo sucedió cada cosa destas, porque no importa; basta saber que todas se continuaron, y quando lo pide la materia, no dexo de señalar el día." *Información*, p. 149.

discounted by the modern scholar,[61] its freedom of expression more frequently causes astonishment when we think of the conditions under which it was composed.

In style, the *Información* possesses the inestimable virtue of brevity and directness, qualities certainly not possessed by the younger of the Argensolas, whose *Conquista de las Islas Molucas* and *Anales de Aragón* are justly criticized for their prolixity.[62]

> Seré brevísimo," writes Lupercio, "porque para enseñar o informar es el primer precepto; y porque si descendiese a particularidades, sería defraudar a las crónicas, que se esperan, del reino.[63]

The readable qualities of the book are not sacrificed to this brevity, but rather enhanced by it. Vicente de la Fuente refers to it as "de amenísima lectura," and the Duque de Villahermosa, speaking before the Royal Spanish Academy, summarized as follows its value as a piece of literature:

> Del estilo de esta relación tan sesuda, tan honrada y tan cristiana, sólo os diré que, sin afectar sistemáticamente, como Mendoza o como Melo, la imitación de Salustio o de Tácito o de cualquier otro de los grandes modelos de la historia clásica, se les asemeja en la rapidez y en la fuerza, aunque no en aquel arte divino, sólo a ellos concedido, de mostrar y hacer patentes a la vista las escenas históricas, como si delante de nosotros aconteciesen.[64]

This is true of a work which Lupercio did not regard as a history, a work written to serve a practical and immediate rather than an artistic or scientific end, and written in a fort-

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[61] "La *Información de los sucesos del reino*, escrita por Argensola en 1604, es un libro sumamente curioso y de amenísima lectura. A él me refiero, aunque hay que leerlo con cuidado, pues está escrito con miedo y con amañada astucia. Argensola, comensal de los duques de Villahermosa, se muestra recatado, pues temía lo que sucedió, y que su escrito le costaría disgustos; pero desde luego se ve que no era enemigo de las libertades de la aristocracia y que las entendía al estilo de Cerdán, y a favor de ésta, pero no del pueblo." Vicente de la Fuente, *Estudios críticos sobre la historia y el derecho de Aragón*, Tercera Serie, Madrid, 1886, p. 355.

[62] This is one of the chief differences between the two brothers. Compare Lupercio's satire, *Muy bien se muestra, Flora, que no tienes*, with any of the interminable satires or epistles of Bartolomé.

[63] *Información*, p. 1.

[64] *Obras*, op. cit., p. 24.

night, at a time when the author was still weak from a prolonged sickness.[65] Had his more serious works in the field of history been preserved, it is very possible that they might have given him a place beside Zurita.

The reasons for the failure of the *Información* to appear in print before 1808 have already been discussed.[66] Who was this Juan Francisco Torralba, whose notes and additions to the original manuscript prevented its publication, and what was the nature of the changes he proposed? Professor Giménez Soler, in his lecture on *Los hombres y el gobierno* (the second chapter of his work on the *alteraciones*, already cited), introduces him thus to his audience:

> Este es aquel impertinente que habiendo recibido el manuscrito de Argensola, se atrevió a llenarlo de notas, unas ridículas, otras aduladoras de los cortesanos y muchas laudatorias de sí mismo.[67]

A member of the first faculty of the University of Saragossa (as professor of canon law), he was, in 1591, a judge, or *lugarteniente*, of the tribunal of the Justiciary, and was one of the most servile followers of the Court. As such he had refused to make a certain decision in favor of Antonio Pérez, and the latter, by means of threats and with the purpose of intimidating all his enemies, secured the denunciation of Torralba and his removal from office. Going at once to Madrid, the *lugarteniente* became an informer against the Kingdom, and was rewarded for his diligence by receiving from Philip an appointment as judge of the *Real Audiencia* at Saragossa.[68] A liar, a false witness, a rascal,[69] he was in 1604 *regente de la Cancellería*, and it was necessary to secure his approval before the *Información* could be printed. Argensola says:

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[65] *Información*, p. 231.
[66] Cf. *supra*, p. 70.
[67] *Op. cit.*, p. 101.
[68] Marqués de Pidal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 71–72.
[69] Giménez Soler, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–116.

Los Diputados de Aragón, a cuya instancia se escribió este discurso, queriéndole imprimir, le presentaron al doctor Juan Francisco Torralba, regente de la cancellería, para que diese licencia; el qual de su propia mano añadió muchas cosas en diversos lugares, las quales yo no quise que saliesen a mi nombre, y así cobré este original, donde están escritas, como digo, de mano del regente, las adiciones, para que hagan perpetuo testimonio de su autor.[70]

Aside from the accuracy or inaccuracy of the notes, their incorporation into the text would have destroyed not only the unity, but the very character of the book. Taken as a whole, they are, indeed, "ridiculous". Argensola wrote briefly, concisely, impartially, omitting every unessential, and following with the greatest skill a course between Scylla and Charybdis. The notes would have made his work diffuse, petty and obviously partial to the Court.

Their pettiness may be seen from the following example. Argensola writes, on page 24:

Al fin de la audiencia el regente por medio de un secretario, que aquí llaman *escribano de mandamiento*, pronuncia las sentencias que tiene escritas. . .

After the word *mandamiento* Torralba added "estando en pie y sin bonete." Their pro-Madrid character is seen from another. At page 113 the author inserts the text of the *fuero* on the authority of which the Justiciary marched to oppose the King's army. Referring to this *fuero*, Torralba wrote "el qual se ha quitado en las Cortes de Tarazona de 1592." Argensola added the following comment to the note:

Terrible mentira, porque no se ha quitado ni corregido: véase la pasión del buen regente Torralba, cuya es esta letra.

On pages 8 and 10 are other notes stressing the changes made in the constitution. Chapter XXX would have been completely disfigured by nine notes of Torralba. Of these the longest and most ridiculous is that which best shows the *regente's* fondness

[70] Written by Argensola on the back of the title page of the original ms.

for self-praise. Argensola, relating the attack on the Marqués de Almenara, wrote the following:

Y de tal manera le rodeaban [al marqués], que hallándose el Justicia fatigado de la gran turba, y del dolor de una gran caída que dió ,dexó al preso en manos de su lugarteniente y ministros, y se fué a un quartago.[71]

After the phrase *en manos* Torralba would have added:

Del dicho Torralba, el qual lo llevó a la cárcel con grandísimo riesgo de su vida, en esta manera, que, habiendo salido de su casa, el Justicia de Aragón iba a la mano derecha del marqués; el doctor Martín Batista de la Nuza iba delante, y micer Gerardo Clavería detrás, y micer Torralba al lado izquierdo de dicho marqués; y Pedro Alburquerque y otro fulano Carrillo, criados del marqués, allí junto. Y luego, en sacándolo de la casa, de tal manera iba la gente amotinada, que no se podía romper; y habiendo llegado a la plaza de Albión o de Clariana de Zaragoza,cayó el Justicia en tierra,y fué tanto el tumulto de la gente que cargó, que no se pudo levantar hasta pasado un rato. Y luego, en habiendo caído el Justicia, se quedó con el dicho marqués a solas el doctor Juan Francisco Torralba: al qual . . . salieron Gil de Mesa y Gil González con las espadas desenvainadas, diciendo: *muera el traidor, y viva la libertad:* a lo qual comenzó el dicho lugarteniente micer Torralba a vocear *resistencia, resistencia; tente al rei* . . . etc., etc.

The note practically covers another page, and its sole purpose was to depict Dr. Juan Francisco Torralba as a hero.

Lupercio's attitude toward any change in his manuscript is made clear in his reply to the *advertimientos*, which repeatedly urge changes in behalf of Saragossa:

Digo que me allano a todo lo que fuere quitar del libro, mudar el título, no exasperar a los autores que an escrito contra este Reyno . . ., pero en lo que fuere añadir o mudar la sustançia de la escritura no me allanaré en ninguna manera.

He was no less firm in regard to Torralba's additions, which sought to be flattering to Madrid. He realized, also, that in

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[71] *Información*, pp. 87–88.

spite of all his *artificio* his work was bound to be a storm-center[72] and resisted every attempt of the Deputies to publish it. Various manuscript copies were made of it, nevertheless, and these passed from hand to hand.[73] The original, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was privately owned by don Ramón Pignatelli of Saragossa,[74] and is now in the library of the Seminario de San Carlos in the same city.[75] The edition of 1808[76] seems to have been made with a political end in view, as is gathered from the editor's note.[77] At that time all eyes were turned toward Saragossa, and Lupercio's monograph may well have been revived, together with the *Numancia* of Cervantes, to arouse the Spaniards to the defense of their liberty. "No puede darse," writes the Duque de Villahermosa, "doctrinal más breve de derecho público aragonés, ni estímulo más eficaz para recordar a aquellos pueblos lo que fueron, y aquella libertad que gozaron, elogiada por muchos, imitada por algunos, y deseada por todos."[78]

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[72] "Mas yo, por razón de las dichas adiciones, y porque con más acuerdo consideré que me ponía a peligro de irritar voluntariamente (involuntariamente?) a muchos, no siendo yo cronista del reino sino del rei, saquéle de las manos del lugarteniente; y aunque los diputados del año siguiente me le han enviado a pedir . . ., no pienso darle." *Información*, note of Lupercio on back of title page.

[73] Cf. *supra*, p. 71.

[74] Cf. editor's note, ed. of 1808.

[75] Cf. M. Serrano y Sanz, *Revista de Archivos*, XX (1909), p. 130.

[76] "Salvá asegura ser ésta la primera edición; Muñoz y Romero, que no la cita, *cree que se hizo una en 1802*." Note of Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la historia de España*, Madrid, 1919.

[77] "Desde que poseía su apetecida y estimable copia, me veía forzado contra todo mi gusto, en grave perjuicio de la historia, a respetar la intención del autor, porque el imperio atroz del despotismo, que anudaba las lenguas y tenia atadas las manos, hubiera negado el permiso para imprimirla. ¡Tiempos lamentables y calamitosos en que era delito publicar ciertas verdades, y sólo se permitía tomar la pluma para adular y mentir! Al mismo leal y valeroso reino de Aragón se debe ahora la libertad de publicar la relación de los ruidosos sucesos ocurridos en él para testimonio eterno de su inmarcesible fidelidad, y para instrucción general del público español."

[78] *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

XV

Minor Works

Memorial against the theatre.—Defense of the histories of Zurita.—Defense of the "Conquista de las Islas Malucas" of Bartolomé Leonardo.—Compendium of the history of Aragon.—Speeches before an academy of Saragossa.—Correspondence.

In one of the biographical chapters of this study[1] attention has been given to the attempt, temporarily successful, of various churchmen and moralists to do away with the Spanish theater. The leader of the attack was the Archbishop of Granada, who, seizing upon the occasion offered by the suspension of all public shows during the Court mourning for the Infanta Catalina,[2] presented to the King a formidable indictment of the theaters and urged that they be closed permanently.[3] Philip II referred the matter to three theologians, Fr. Diego de Yepes, his Confessor, Fr. Gaspar de Córdoba, Confessor of the Prince of Asturias, and D. García de Loaisa, who later became Archbishop of Toledo. Their report,[4] which together with the memorial of Lupercio Leonardo caused the theaters to be closed not only in Madrid but in the whole of Spain,[5] is a mosaic of quotations from the Saints and the Church Fathers, of examples taken from ancient history and of generalities taken from the moralists. The majority of the arguments are intended to appeal to the conscience of the Monarch, stressing as they do the evil effects of theatrical performances upon the morals of his subjects. One only is definite and practical: the spirit which pervades the theater is one of idleness and ease, tending to break down the stern frugality of a military nation, and the King is sorely in need of soldiers!

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[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 52-53
[2] She died Nov. 6, 1597.
[3] Cf. E. Cotarelo, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*, Madrid, 1904, pp. 19–20.
[4] Reproduced by Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 392–397.
[5] May 2, 1598.

The city of Madrid then presented its own side of the case in a memorial,[6] which, although it contains much common sense, becomes humorous when read in connection with the report of the special committee. Every respectable nation has permitted the representation of comedies, every history regards them as good, they furnish *good* examples, instruct the intellect, provide recreation, *correct* men's passions. If (and the "if" is stressed) there have been abuses, correct them by regulation, and do not deprive the city's hospitals of the 8,000 ducats of income which come to them from the theaters.

It was to answer the city of Madrid that Lupercio Leonardo took up his pen, and as we read his *Memorial contra la representación de las comedias*,[7] all doubt as to the correctness of its attribution to the elder Argensola disappears. It is entirely in his manner. As in his *España Tarraconense* he was unwilling to begin the history of Aragon with the "barbaridades antiquísimas" of the time of Tubal Cain, and in his *Información* and *Historia de Carlos V* admitted only that which he could prove, so in his attack on the theater he is not content with the fulminations of the Church Fathers or of the treatises on morality, but cites specific instances of the perverse influence of the *comedia*, "y para poderlos referir con verdad se han averiguado primero; y si se pudiera hacer, se pusieran los nombres de las personas y lugares."[8] It is for this reason that his memorial seemed to Cotarelo[9] "una de las más duras impugnaciones de la escena que se le han hecho."

In his opening paragraph Lupercio refers to the report of the theologians:

> Porque personas pías y doctas han significado a V. M. los inconvenientes que los Santos temieron de los teatros y comedias, y el rigor con que en los Santos Concilios son detestadas y prohibidas, no se repetirá . . . ninguna cosa cerca desta materia, sino solamente daños particulares sucedidos en España, por esta causa y en este mismo tiempo; contra los cuales no podrán

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[6] Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 421–424.
[7] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 279–287.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 287.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

los defensores de las comedias . . . alegar diversidad de tiempos, de nación, de religión ni de costumbres.[10]

There follow, in words that could scarcely be more scathing, numerous examples of individual noblemen whose infatuation for actresses led to the greatest scandals. With this introduction Lupercio proceeds to answer the various points in the defense made by the *villa de Madrid*. The friends of the *comedia* had made the excuse that those whom the theater led into sin would not be made virtuous by closing the playhouses. This Lupercio does not deny, but calls the answer "indigna de personas de entendimiento, porque demás que el pecado secreto y sin escándalo es menor, no corre por cuenta de V. M., como a algunos les parece que corre el no quitar este tropiezo público."[11] The defenders of the theater had also asserted that religious mysteries and heroic episodes of history could best be taught by dramatization. Lupercio's counter-thrust strikes home. At a recent representation in Madrid, he says, of a play on the life of St. Mary, the illicit relations of the man and woman who played the leading rôles were so well known to the audience that the Virgin's reply to the Angel, *Quomodo fiet illud*, was greeted by a burst of laughter; and the same actors, in a Christmas play, had words upon the stage and in the hearing of some of the spectators because the woman looked at some one in the audience, thus arousing the jealousy of the leading man.

En su vestuario están bebiendo, jurando, blasfemando y jugando con el hábito y forma exterior de Santos, de Ángeles, de la Virgen Nuestra Señora y del mismo Dios. Y después salen en público, fingiendo lágrimas y haciendo juego de lo que siempre había de ser veras y tratado por gente limpia.[12]

The historical knowledge imparted by the *comedia* is bound to be disfigured and inaccurate. The ignorant are unable to separate the truly historical from the purely adventitious, and the authors themselves are "por la mayor parte indoctos. . .y

[10] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 279–280.
[11] *Ibid.*, I, p. 282.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 283–284.

añaden a las historias cosas impropísimas."[13] Again an example is given:

"En una [comedia] que pocos días há se representaba del casamiento del serenísimo Rey D. Juan, padre del Católico Rey D. Fernando, le aplicaban hechos y acciones, no solamente contra la verdad, mas aun contra la dignidad de su persona; y a la serenísima Reina, su mujer, liviandades que en persona de mucha menor calidad fueran reprensibles.[14]

Had Lupercio's purpose been to write a dissertation on the merits of the theater, we may be sure that tragedy, as he conceived of it, would not have come under his condemnation. The *comedia* in 1598 was indeed a serious problem for the moralist. Lupercio saw no middle ground: "Las sabandijas que cría la comedia son hombres amancebados, glotones, ladrones, rufianes de sus mujeres."[15] The *comedia*, with its "lazos tan perniciosos para los cuerpos y almas" was a school of licentiousness, and as such should be forbidden in all His Majesty's Kingdoms.

On May 2, 1598, the theaters were closed, and they were not reopened during the lifetime of Philip II. When the new Monarch came to the throne, the city of Madrid renewed its efforts, submitting a memorial which in substance was the same as that presented the year before,[16] and the King, "después de oír al Consejo y teólogos, [ordenó] que continuasen las representaciones."[17]

Jerónimo Zurita is declared by the Conde de la Viñaza[18] to be "el historiador más severo, concienzudo e imparcial que ha habido en España." That is a sweeping statement, but it is certain that he was "the first Spanish historian to collect original documents, the first to supplement his sources by a study of the state papers of foreign nations, the first to understand the value

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[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 284–285.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 285.
[15] *Ibid.*, I, p. 285.
[16] Cf. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 424–425 and pp. 369–384.
[17] April 16, 1599. Cf. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, p. 425.
[18] *Discurso*, op. cit.

of travel to the investigator." Fitzmaurice-Kelly refers to his *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* (1562-1579) as "una obra excelente desde el punto de vista de la exactitud," and to Zurita as "un espíritu fundamentalmente científico."[19]

His history was immediately and almost unanimously accepted as a model of historical investigation and a mine, a "public archive", of historical facts. It was to this history that Lupercio Leonardo sought to furnish, in his *España Tarraconense*, an introduction, and in his announcement of this work to Llorente in 1599[20] he spoke of it as "[una historia] tan bien escrita, cuanto a la diligencia, como la tenga otra provincia del mundo." It did not, however, escape severe criticism. Although the early attacks of Alonso de Santa Cruz had been answered by Ambrosio de Morales and Juan Páez de Castro, there remained even in 1604 a group of critics who expressed dissatisfaction with the literary qualities of the *Anales*.[21]

Lupercio, at some time previous to January 31, 1604,[22] entered the lists against them, answering their charges under four heads. A copy of this defense was sent by him to D. Pablo de Santa María, a converted Jew, "persona muy docta y aficionada a la lectura de los mismos *Anales*,"[23] who had prepared, in a Spanish text written in Hebrew characters, an index to Zurita's work, and apparently had consulted Argensola in regard to it.[24] The latter,

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[19] *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1921, p. 198.

[20] Letter pub. in *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 329–336.

[21] Cf. Pellicer, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21, and Uztarroz and Dormer, *Progresos de la historia en Aragón y vidas de sus cronistas*, Primera Parte, 2d ed., Zaragoza, 1878, Libro segundo, cap. XII, pp. 225–230.

[22] The date of Lupercio's letter is wrongly given in *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 362, as "último de enero 1610 años." The year is 1604. It is so printed by Uztarroz and Dormer, *loc. cit.*, and the "Indice que los Diputados deste reino han mandado hacer," mentioned in the letter, was printed in 1604. Cf. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la historia española*, p. 63.

[23] Uztarroz and Dormer, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[24] Lupercio's letter begins: "Tampoco me parece ajena del título deste libro la carta que se sigue, pues en ella se defiende a Jerónimo Zurita." Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 21, and Viñaza, *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 353, interpret *este libro* as being Lupercio's own *Información*, written in 1604. This is an error. The letter does not appear in, and has no connection with, the *Información*. The words *este libro* refer to the *Indice* of don Pablo. Cf. *este cuidado* and *esta obra*, with the same reference, *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 361. I am inclined to believe that Argensola was returning the ms. to don Pablo. Hence *este*, not *ese*.

in his reply, urged the publication of the *Indice*, in spite of the fact that the Deputies of Aragon were planning the publication of a similar index that same year;[25] and he incorporated into his letter, as interesting *Zuritiana*, the defense which he had composed.

The interest of this defense lies in the fact that it shows Lupercio's independent attitude, even before so great an authority as Zurita, and his tendency, common to all the historians of that time and observable also in the *Información* of Lupercio and in his answers to the anonymous *Advertimientos*, to seek justification and precedent in the historians of antiquity and to accept their example as law.

In the introductory pages which precede the defense proper, Lupercio tells don Pablo of the attacks which he himself had suffered from those who claimed that he had invented the charges he refuted in order thereby to draw attention to himself,[26] and adds:

> En esto a lo menos no hay engaño, que jamás tuve intento de defraudar al secretario Jerónimo Zurita de su gloria, sino de celebrarle y estimarle, como lo merecía su gran erudición, prudencia y bondad. . . Y nadie crea que contradice a esta verdad el no seguirle yo en todo lo que escribió, porque el tiempo descubre y apura en unas edades cosas que estaban ocultas y confusas en otras. Y en algunos doctores de la Iglesia hay opiniones que hoy no se pueden tener y afirmar, por haberse determinado lo contrario por los Sacros Concilios. Así que el apartarse de la opinión de Zurita no es ser detractor de Zurita, y más en la historia, donde el que escribe debe ser, como dice Horacio: *Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.*[27]

Lupercio thus adopted the method of Zurita, but followed it

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[25] "Porque, a lo que creo, solamente el nombre será común a este trabajo y al de vuestra merced, y en lo demás habrá notable diferencia." Don Pablo's index was not printed and has been lost.

[26] "Desto me avisó un caballero muy principal deste reino, y yo luego junté a un nieto y algunos deudos de Jerónimo Zurita y les leí la carta, rogándoles que me dijesen si aquellas oposiciones eran inventadas por mí o las habían oído a diversas personas, y si les parecía que mis respuestas satisfacían o no, porque yo estaba dispuesto a hacer cualquier enmienda. Respondió su nieto que no solamente después de la muerte de su abuelo eran públicas, mas que viviendo llegaron a sus oídos, etc." *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 354.

[27] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 355–356.

independently, aware of the constant advance of scholarship, and in matters of fact refusing to rely on an *ipse dixit*. Not so in matters of style. To the charge of Zurita's detractors, that the *Anales de Aragón* should have been written in the concise manner of Tacitus, he opposes the example of Cicero, the master of Roman eloquence, who was also accused of verbosity, and of Livy "[quien] escribió largamente los [anales] de la República romana, sin encerrarse en estilo lacónico o limitado". Similarly, a justification is found in Livy for Zurita's practice of including, with an insistence on detail which was wearying to some, the names of those taking part in the *Cortes* and other public acts; for in the same way that Livy, because of the importance given to religion by the Romans, could not dispense with wearying accounts of the taking of the auspices, so Zurita, writing for the Aragonese, furnished them with a record of the names and deeds of their ancestors.

More substantial reasons are also given. Zurita's annals are a work of reference rather than a work of art, and no detail can properly be omitted. If Zurita does not go beyond the year 1118, it is because material was scarce for the early period and he preferred, like Plutarch, to leave those desert wastes to others and devote himself to more fertile fields. If he does not record the private history of every great family of Aragon, it was because he was writing history, not genealogy, and had access only to public documents. If he bestows his praise impartially upon Spain and the enemy nations, it is because of his respect for the truth, and his history gains authority thereby. And finally, the lack of an index is one which can be easily supplied.

These observations indicate a true conception of the nature of history as a science rather than an art. They answer "with authority, penetration and effectiveness"[28] the criticisms of those who picked flaws where they were unwilling to recognize excellence, and they give us another view of the intellectual personality of Lupercio Leonardo.

Although at a sacrifice of the chronological order, it seems

[28] Uztarroz and Dormer, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

well to consider here the defense of another historical work, the *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (1609) of Lupercio's brother, Bartolomé Leonardo. The history of the reconquest of the Molucca or Spice Islands by D. Pedro de Acuña (1606), was written by Bartolomé at the request of the Conde de Lemos, who regarded this naval success as the outstanding achievement of his administration as President of the *Consejo de Indias.* His account is, according to Ticknor, "one of the most pleasing of the minor Spanish histories," and it had the unusual distinction of being translated into French, German and English.[29] But it falls somewhat short of the standard of historical accuracy set by Lupercio in his *Información* and later followed by Bartolomé in his *Anales de Aragón* (1630),[30] and, circulating for some time in manuscript, it became the object of literary attacks which would have prevented its publication but for the intervention of Lemos.[31]

In the prologue "A los lectores", Lupercio comes to the defense of his brother in much the same manner as he did in the case of Zurita. The title, it was charged, was the *conquest* of the Islands, and since they were gained in a single engagement, one *pliego*, instead of ten books, would have been sufficient for the report. To this Lupercio replied that, the Islands having been previously lost by Portugal, their earlier history was necessary for a complete understanding of what had been done, and that "todas las demás cosas, que en orden a ésta se escriben, deben ser admitidas como pompa de este triunfo." Again it was objected that novelesque elements had been introduced, "particularmente los amores y casamiento de aquel Alférez que refiere en el Libro tercero." Here Lupercio makes another appeal to the authority of the ancients, and answers:

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[29] The English translation, which I have never seen cited by the biographers of Bartolomé, is by John Stevens, London, 1708. There is a copy in the New York Public Library.

[30] "Así como en sus otras obras históricas Bartolomé es exacto e imparcial, en ésta utiliza leyendas y narraciones fabulosas, teniendo el defecto capital de ser descripción fantástica de países no conocidos por el autor." Hurtado y Palencia, *Hist. de la literatura española*, p. 593.

[31] "En saliendo de las manos de su autor se le opusieron dificultades para quitarle la vida; pero la autoridad de quien le mandó escribir le dió fuerza para vencerlas." *Conquista de la Islas Malucas*, Saragossa, 1891, p. CLIX

No le faltaba materia a Tito Livio para hacer larga la Historia romana, pero no dejó de escribir otro suceso semejante al de este Alférez; contento quedará mi hermano, si fué yerro, en tener por compañero a Livio.

The style of the book was criticized as too rhetorical and figurative for a serious work of history. "En Tucídides," writes Lupercio, "en Salustio y en Tácito, con los cuales pretenden argüirnos y espantarnos, podríamos hallar nuestra defensa. Pero busquémosla donde está manifiesta en Herodoto, Jenofonte y Tito Livio, a quien acusan, acusando a mi hermano." The last of the objections was in regard to the choice of subject, and to it Lupercio replied that the subject had not been chosen but assigned, and that the exploit was worthy of a place in history "para que se vea que el celo de la religión[32] y la prudencia vencerán siempre, y que se debe gloria a los que fielmente se ejercitan en sus ministerios."

It is beyond doubt that had Lupercio written the account of the *Conquista*, its historical value would have been greater, its pages fewer in number and less adorned by legend. The defense which he wrote of the book as it appeared is an interesting example of the attachment of the two brothers and another indication of the pedantry of the early seventeenth century.

The qualities of style already observed in the *Información* reappear in the *Declaración sumaria de la historia de Aragón*,[33] prepared by Lupercio Leonardo in Latin and in Castilian as a marginal description to accompany the map of Aragon by Juan Bautista Labaña.[34] The purpose of the two compositions was also the same: to make known to the world the glories of the nation.[35] And so, rather than a geographical description of the territory, such as had appeared on the margins of a similar map of Catalonia, Lupercio preferred to give a brief account of the

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[32] One of the chief objectives of the undertaking was to prevent the spread of Dutch Protestantism in the eastern islands.

[33] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 289–308.

[34] Cf. *supra.*, p. 74 ff.

[35] "Y así tuve por acertado decir lo que de cada cosa de éstas dije, y tácitamente responder a la calumnia que la envidia nos pone, señaladamente en querer quitar de la Corona de Aragón el Reino de Nápoles." Letter of Lupercio to the Deputies of Aragon, *Obras sueltas*, pp. 366–369.

achievements of Aragon, limiting himself to the absolutely essential in his discussion of its physical characteristics.[36]

The first paragraphs identify the Kingdom to the foreigner, and are followed by a review of its beginnings, the derivation of its name, the origin of its laws and the introduction into it of the Christian religion. There follows a condensed political history, containing the chief events of each reign and endeavoring to show that "no se ofrece en las historias ejemplo de algún reino que distando de la mar tanto como Aragón y con tan angostos límites, haya dilatado tanto su nombre ni adquirido tantos reinos y provincias."[37] The products, natural and industrial, of the region are then enumerated; and although these are so abundant that Aragon in peace or war is sufficient unto itself, although the climate is ideal and the land blessed with clear, swift rivers, its real glory is the special favor shown to it by God:

> Es mucho más favorecido de el cielo con dones sobrenaturales, pues (según graves tradiciones) es el más antiguo de España en la religión Católica, y la recibió con la predicación de el Glorioso Apóstol Santiago el Mayor, el cual convirtió a ella más gente en esta provincia que en lo restante de España, particularmente en Zaragoza.[38]

The ten principal cities, beginning with Saragossa and ending with Albarracín, receive each a paragraph, with the exception of the former, which receives three. Special stress is laid on the ecclesiastical status of each, and on the saints and martyrs by whom the history of each is honored. Of Saragossa Lupercio says:

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[36] "Quise ser más largo relator de la historia de Aragón que de sus particulares ríos, fuentes, frutos y otras cosas naturales que en semejantes lugares se suelen escribir y en el mapa de Cataluña vemos tan difusamente relatados; porque no hallé cosa que me pareciese digna de esta particularidad, con exclusión de las más importantes, que son las acciones de los hombres, que no cupieran en tan angostos límites de papel, si nos detuviéramos en disputar los nombres antiguos de las ciudades, las cualidades de los ríos y fuentes, y finalmente aquellas cosas que escritas parecen admirables y vistas son muy ordinarias y semejantes a las de cada provincia. *Lo más digno de esto me parecieron los santos, los reyes, los capitanes, y por decirlo en una palabra, los hombres.*" *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 367–368. Italics mine.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

[38] *Obras sueltas*, p. 302.

Dice en sus himnos Prudencio (natural también de Zaragoza) que apenas es lícito comparar a Roma con esta ciudad. Llámala Casa de Ángeles, y añade que nunca la Iglesia Católica fué perseguida sin gloria de Zaragoza, y que en toda ella habita Cristo.[39]

The description thereupon ends abruptly.

Basta la relación de estas diez ciudades, porque proceso infinito sería describir todas las villas y lugares de Aragón, sus excelencias naturales . . . sus templos sumptuosos llenos de reliquias . . ., el concierto de sus Repúblicas, las noblezas de las familias . . . Y así remitimos uno y otro a las historias públicas, porque resumirlo aquí no es posible, ni debe el lector pedirlo en la angostura de estos márgenes.[40]

These pages are thoroughly characteristic. Lupercio is an historian, interested in human achievement and human motives, not a geographer. With his customary exactness he records as legend and legend only the two traditions dearest to the Aragonese heart, the preaching of St. James and the founding of the Church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar at Saragossa by the same Apostle at the command of the Virgin while she was yet alive. The *fueros* are defended,[41] as is also Aragon's title to the Spanish possessions in Italy. The style is brief, rapid and extremely interesting, the whole constituting, perhaps, the best example of the author's prose.

Scarcely less interesting are the *Discursos pronunciados en una academia de Zaragoza*.[42] They are not "orations", but are composed in the straightforward style which Lupercio made his own, and are differentiated from his other writings mainly by the frequent quotations from classical and Italian authors.[43] The first address describes the nature of a literary academy as a place of intellectual exchange between persons of diverse interests; the second outlines various activities in which the members

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 304.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 307.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 292–293.
[42] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 309–326.
[43] Horace, Lucretius, Ariosto, Tasso, etc.

might occupy themselves with profit, and makes certain suggestions in regard to the government of such a body.

In them we have a reaffirmation of Lupercio's high regard for Horace and of his passion for history. He was thoroughly in accord with the precepts of the *Ars Poetica*, and appeals frequently to its authority.[44] Nowhere do we find a better expression of his conception of the poetic art:

> Ninguno aquí pretende el nombre de poeta, sabiendo que un poeta mediano es de ningún precio, y un poeta grande pasa un siglo antes que se ve.

This statement is remarkable for a time when Lope de Vega could count

> En cada esquina cuatro mil poetas.

It is not a mere literary pose. Lupercio did not lay claim to the laurel; his real vocation he felt to be in the field of history, and in the second *Discurso* he has expressed also his conception of this science:

> Esto basta para los poetas solos; mas a todos generalmente digo que tengan por sustento ordinario la lección de la historia, porque sin ella siempre son los hombres niños. E ignorar uno las historias de su tierra y de sus mayores es ignorancia, tan culpable como no haberse visto jamás al espejo, ni saber en su imaginación qué manera de rostro tiene, y aun peor, porque es como ignorar los dedos de sus manos y los miembros de que consta su cuerpo . . . Enseña [la historia] sin cansancio . . ., hace que en pocos años vivamos muchos años, vistamos de todos los trajes y usemos de todos los instrumentos de guerra y de paz que ha habido. Echemos el sello: nuestra religión historia es, de historia consta, y sin historia todo perece. No hay cosa en el mundo tan necesaria y alabada, y así no me detengo en esto.[45]

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[44] "No puedo dejar de añadir a lo dicho que será bien, cuando se hubieren de escribir versos, cada cual examine sus fuerzas; y si las hallare débiles se abstenga, como dice Horacio: *Versate diu quid ferre recusent, Quid valeant humeri.* Y si todavía pareciere hacer versos, no se publiquen sin grande examen. Lean mucho, escriban poco, amen el borrar mil veces cada palabra, que por no hacerlo así los poetas de su tiempo, dice Horacio que erraban." *Obras sueltas*, I, 317–318.

[45] *Obras sueltas*, I, pp. 318–319.

These *discursos*, in addition to what they tell us of Lupercio Leonardo, are of primary importance for the historian of the Spanish literary academies. They also constitute a valuable document for the study of the state of culture in the Aragonese capital in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Lupercio's correspondence deserves but passing attention. Himself a busy man, his letters resemble telephone messages in which the thought to be conveyed is the sole interest and literary adornments have no place. There is not one which can compare with that written by the Conde de Lemos to Bartolomé Leonardo, and which begins, "Válgame Dios, Rector de Villapulcra,[46] y ¡qué profundo ha sido nuestro sueño!"[47] "España y los españoles," writes a modern Spanish critic, "carecemos de intimidad."[48] It is a quality which rarely appears in Lupercio. An occasional example may be found among the fourteen letters to Dr. Llorente, of which the following is the best:

> Llegó su carta de Vm. a tiempo que el Dr. Quintana Bueñas y yo comíamos; holgó mucho de saber que Vm. tenga salud, aunque le pesó de no haber podido besarle las manos. Díxome que yo lo hiciese en su nombre como lo hago. Fuése anteayer, muy devoto desta santa Casa y satisfecho desta ciudad. Yo le dixe que faltando Vm. la veía manca. Páguenos Vm. lo que con su ausencia nos quita, en mirar mucho por su salud y volver muy bueno. Yo seré entre tanto fidelísimo alcayde desta su casa. Al Sr. Mossén Gerónymo beso las manos. Guarde Nuestro Señor a Vm. como desseo. Çaragoça, 29 de Septiembre, 1602. Ya Vm. debe saber cómo la hermana del Sr. de Cetina que estaría en casa del duque de Ixar se manifestó a instancia de don Juan, hijo de Miguel Torrellas. *Sic fiat.* Lupercio Leonardo.[49]

The three letters to Lipsius[50] are interesting for their elegant Latin style; the two to Mariana[51] are models of direct, forceful argumentation. The entire twenty-six that have been preserved show in general the same characteristics as the *Información*, the *Declaración sumaria* or the *Discursos* and are therefore of but slight interest to the student of the epistolary art.

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[46] Villahermosa.
[47] *Obras sueltas*, II, 381–384.
[48] César Barja, *Libros y autores modernos*, Madrid, 1925, p. 614, note.
[49] Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 118, letter 10.
[50] Cf. *supra*, pp. 57–61.
[51] Cf. *supra*, pp. 55–57.

XVI

The Rimas

The 1634 edition.—The early poems.—The sonnets.—The canciones.—Terza rima.—Octavas *and* versos cortos.—*The Translations.—Versification.—Criticism.*

Lupercio Leonardo never regarded the cultivation of the Muses as a serious occupation. He was primarily a secretary, an historian. His poems were written to please his friends, to commemorate the birth, the marriage or the death of some illustrious personage, and to fill pleasantly the rare moments when crowding duties did not press too heavily upon him. To so great an extent was this true, that, as he approached the end of his life, the result of his poetic effort seemed to him hopelessly beneath his ideal, and during his residence in Naples he burned such manuscripts as were at hand.

> Abrasó sus poéticos escritos
> nuestro Lupercio, i defraudó el desseo
> universal de ingenios exquisitos,[1]

wrote his brother Bartolomé in a poetic epistle to don Fernando de Ávila. It is doubtful if any were spared. There is only one composition which appears to have been written in Italy, a sonnet first published in the *Ensayo* of Gallardo, beginning:

> El ímpetu cruel de mi destino,
> ¡cómo me arroja miserablemente
> de tierra en tierra, de una en otra gente,
> cerrando a mi quietud siempre el camino![2]

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[1] *RIMAS/DE LVPERCIO,/I DEL DOTOR/BARTOLOME/LEONARDO/ DE ARGENSOLA./CON LICENCIA I PREVILEGIO/de la Corona de Castilla, i Aragon./EN ZARAGOZA,/En el Hospital Real, i General de/ nuestra Señora de Gracia,/Año 1634.* Two printings were made in this year, and by the same press. A description of their distinguishing marks is given in *Obras sueltas*, I, p. xi.

[2] *Ensayo*, IV, col. 1340, and *Revue Hispanique*, XLVIII, 1920, p. 381.

Even here the reference may be to Lupercio's frequent trips between the Aragonese city of Saragossa and Castilian Madrid.

But many poems remained behind in Spain. Thirty-five had already been published in eleven different books;[3] and in 1634 don Gabriel Leonardo de Albión, the poet's only son, published in Saragossa an edition of his father's poetic works, together with those of his uncle.

This collection is incomplete[4] and has generally been regarded as unsatisfactory. In his *Elogios*[5] Andrés de Ustarroz remarks:

> Las publicó defectuosas (*i.e.*, las rimas de Bartolomé) su sobrino D. Gabriel Leonardo de Albión, en cuanto a la cantidad, y poco ajustadas a los originales, y esta quexa la publicó Martín Miguel Navarro, quien tenía más noticia dellas, y todos los que han tenido curiosidad de juntarlas repiten la misma quexa.

These words seem unduly severe. That don Gabriel was frequently careless in handling the manuscripts left by his father there can scarcely be any doubt, but an examination of the 1634 volume shows that he used no little care in its preparation. Menéndez y Pelayo regarded it as one of the better poetic texts produced during the seventeenth century[6] and it will necessarily assume a large measure of authority in establishing a critical edition of the Argensolas.[7]

The most glaring omissions are readily explained. The three tragedies of Lupercio, aside from their non-lyrical character, belonged to an earlier generation and had apparently been forgotten even by their author; and while on the other hand the

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[3] Cf. *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, pp. 320-342.

[4] It has been supplemented by the Conde de la Viñaza (*Obras sueltas*), E. Mele (*Rev. crít. de Hist. y Lit. españolas, portuguesas e hispano-americanas*, VI, 1901, pp. 73–85), R. Foulché-Delbosc (*Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII), and L. Pfandl (*Rev. Hisp.* LV).

[5] *Ms. cit.*, Chap. XXX.

[6] "Al lado de textos tan correctos como el de los Argensolas, el de Herrera y el de Jáuregui, figuran algunos tan infelices y desmañados (a pesar del gran nombre de su editor) como el de Fray Luis de León, impreso por Quevedo." *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Madrid, 1890–1908, I, p. xv.

[7] Especially with respect to the poems of Lupercio. Bartolomé, as will be seen, revised many of his poems with a view to their publication, a fact which don Gabriel unaccountably ignored.

satires of Bartolomé take a high place among the satirical productions of the Golden Age, they were then thought unworthy to appear under the name of a *persona grave*, as Menéndez y Pelayo pointed out.[8] Bartolomé makes it clear that this was his attitude toward them. In answer to don Fernando de Ávila, who wrote "persuadiéndole a que diese lugar para imprimir sus obras,"[9] he replied:

> Cuando sostuve en otra edad más firme
> ciencias prolixas, de su estudio ingrato
> pudieron estos versos divertirme.
> Mas para ornarlos no pasé un rato
> dándoles energía, o reprimiendo
> el follaje ambicioso del ornato.
> *No moderé a Satyra el estruendo,*
> ni añadí consonancias a la Lyra,
> quitando, i con primor substituyendo;[10]

and requested that his verses be left to silence and oblivion. The satires were not without *estruendo*, and as late as 1889 the Conde de la Viñaza thought best to suppress in the *Obras sueltas* certain portions of the *Sátira del incógnito*.[11] We may regret the omission also of a certain number of sonnets,[12] of the fragmentary epistle of Lupercio to Dr. Domingo de Vengochea[13] and of Bartolomé's delightful *villancico, A la profesión de una religiosa*;[14] but in general (excepting always the long satires) the verses collected by modern investigators have not changed our concep-

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[8] *Loc. cit.*
[9] *Rimas*, Index to poems of Bartolomé, p. 150.
[10] *Rimas*, p. 465.
[11] The satire may be read in full in Viñaza, *Algunas obras satíricas de L. y B. L. de A.*, Saragossa, 1887.
[12] Lupercio: *No las antiguas púrpuras de Tiro, Amor, yo te acogí cuando tenía, En otro tiempo Lesbia, prometías* (this translation of Catullus had appeared in 1605 in Espinosa's *Flores de poetas ilustres*), etc.; Bartolomé: *Galla, no alegues a Platón, o alega, Visto el proceso y autos dél, fallamos, En la edad de oro, dunque hubo afectos tiernos.*
[13] *Obras sueltas*, I, 21–25.
[14] *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, pp. 431–432.

tion of either poet.[15] Don Gabriel was not a scholar in the modern sense. His aim was to furnish a select edition, and in this he admirably succeeded.

No composition appears in the *Rimas* wrongly attributed to the Argensolas, although their name has in several instances been attached to poems belonging to neither one,[16], and compositions of theirs have been claimed for other poets.[17] Of special interest is the case of Bartolomé's sonnet *En la olanda bañada del tributo*, of which the editor states in the *Indice* (p. 152):

> Este soneto ha salido, viciado, como andava manuscrito, entre las Rimas de un gran poeta: i aunque fué honralle mucho el juzgalle por obra digna de tal autor, es bien que no esté en duda cuál es el verdadero, como no lo estará ya: pues quien lo imprime agora, no puede recivir engaño en esta parte.[18]

In this note is indicated at least a reasonable degree of care, notwithstanding the assertion of Andrés de Ustarroz.

The one thing which it is impossible to understand is don

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[15] Some are not worthy of the genius of their authors. Cf. Viñaza's note, *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 9: "En el mismo [ms.] se hallan todos los sonetos siguientes. Como curiosidad bibliográfica los reproducimos ahora; no como mo elos literarios, pues si el códice . . . no nos ofreciera motivos para atribuírselos con algún fundamento al secretario de la Emperatriz, podrían la sintaxis violenta y los versos incorrectos que a veces se notarán, convencernos de que no habían brotado de la misma pluma que escribió aquellos sonetos que comienzan . . . etc."

[16] The sonnet *Excelso monte a do el romano estrago* (*Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, 382) belongs to Cetina. *Después que viste Amor jubón de raso* (sonnet, *ibid.*, 372) appears to have orginated in the Academia de Ochoa, Seville, at the time of Lope de Vega's visit to that city. Cf. *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, ed. Rodríguez Marín, Madrid, 1905, 156–157; and *Madre de los valientos de la guerra* (Ode on the loss of the Armada, *Rev. de ciencias, literatura y artes*, Seville, 1857, p. 53) is of Cervantes. Cf. *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 413–427. *Mil veces callo, que romper deseo*, *Obras sueltas*, II, 393, appears with only slight variants as of Mendoza in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XXXII, p. 84.

[17] Cf. L. Medina, *Dos sonetos atribuídos a L. L. de A.*, *Rev. Hisp.*, VI, 1898, 314–329. Lupercio's *liras*, *Tú, por la culpa agena*, have been wrongly attributed to Quevedo; Bartolomé's sonnet *Fabio, las esperanzas no son malas*, to Paravicino, etc.

[18] Found in the *Obras de don Luis de Góngora*, Brusselas, MDCLIX, p. 184. This sonnet was excluded by M. Foulché-Delbosc from his edition of Góngora, New York, 1921.

Gabriel's failure to enlist the services of Martín Miguel Navarro,[19] who from the year 1624 was engaged in preparing an annotated edition of the verses of the younger brother. Several letters addressed by Bartolomé to this learned churchman have been preserved, and from them we know that while the author was revising the texts, the editor was making a study of the poet's sources. Of this don Gabriel seems to have been unaware. In the letter of dedication to Philip IV, which precedes the *Prólogo* of the *Rimas*, he says that his father and uncle had always prevented the publication of their poems, and that one of his purposes in printing them was to stop their circulation in poorly made manuscript copies. In the *Prólogo* he claims to have restored them

> a la verdad de sus originales, tan poco favorecidos de sus autores, que ha sido casi igualmente difícil para mí, que pudiera serlo para un estraño, el recogerlos: porque como nunca aspiraron a ganar aplauso, poco más rato conservaron sus papeles del que era necessario para exprimir con la pluma lo que havían conceÿido interiormente. I assí salen en público sin havelles dado la última mano . . . etc.

This circumstance explains the frequency with which poems of Bartolomé appear in more than one version, and makes it seem probable that the texts of the *Rimas* represent the primitive rather than the final form of the compositions in question.

The book is attractively printed.[20] The indices are most

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[19] He died a canon of the cathedral of Tarazona. In 1622 he wrote a Latin eclogue in memory of Lupercio Leonardo and in praise of his brother Bartolomé (a second Latin eclogue was written in praise of Lupercio by the Neapolitan physician, Mario Squipano). Cf. Pellicer, *op. cit.*, 135–142.

[20] According to the *tassa*, the price of the book was to be 276 *maravedís*. The title appears in the *previlegio* as *Rimas que se han podido recojer de L., i del Dotor B. L. de A.* Among the *aprobantes* are Lorenzo Vander Hammen y León and Lope de Vega, who says: "Fué discreto acuerdo imprimirlos juntos, porque pudiessen competir, aunque hermanos, pues no hallarán quien se opusiera a tanta erudición, gravedad y dulzura: antes pareze que vinieron de Aragón a reformar en nuestros poetas la lengua castellana que padeze por novedad frassis horribles, con que más se confunde que se ilustra." The first stanza of the *canción*, *Alivia sus fatigas*, is strangely lacking (*Rimas*, p. 5). and has been restored from mss. by Foulché-Delbosc (*Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, 387). Another error is found in the editor's comment on *Ya la primera nave fabricada*, of Bartolomé: "Canción a la nave de la Iglesia, escrita cuando el señor don Juan de Austria venzió al Turco en Lepanto." As Bartolomé was only nine years old in 1571, the ode was obviously written later.

serviceable and explicit. No titles are given. The arrangement is made according to subjects: love, satire, moral philosophy, religion, occasional verse, translations.

Of Lupercio Leonardo there have come down to us one hundred and fifty-three poetical compositions. Of these, two are tragedies, one hundred and thirteen are sonnets, thirteen are *canciones*, ten are *tercetos*, six are *liras*, five *redondillas*, four *décimas*, three *octavas*. In the sonnets the predominating note is amatory; in the *canciones* it is religious; the *tercetos* are more commonly satirical; the *liras* are, with two exceptions, translations; the the *décimas* express light gallantries; the *octavas* are usually laudatory. The *redondillas* cannot be classified.

From this total it has been possible to date, either exactly or approximately, fifty-three poems, so that we are able to follow with some degree of certainty the poet's development. The earliest consists of four laudatory *octavas* which appeared in the *Libro de Orlando determinado* of don Martín de Bolea y Castro, printed at Saragossa when Lupercio was nineteen years old.[21] Perhaps the most that can be said of this early effort is that the hendecasyllables are correct, though with occasional harshness caused by *acentos obstruccionistas*, and that the last four lines constitute a graceful ending. The youthful writer is obviously ill at ease, and in general the language, ideas and images are prosaic. In the thirty-two lines the words *entendimiento*, *alabanza*, *sublimar*, *celebrar*, *pluma* and *quedar corto* appear twice. *Raro* appears three times. The whole represents a rather inauspicious beginning. Much better is a sonnet with *estrambote*, published in the preliminary pages of the *Divina y varia poesía* of fray Jaime de Torres, Huesca, 1579. After showing how much worthier than the singers of mere earthly things is he who sings the mysteries of God, the sonnet ends with the following three tercets:

> Dichoso Torres, pues habéis tenido
> asiento entre famosos escriptores,
> cubriendo el ciego amor de triste luto,

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[21] 1578. The poem is in *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 34.

ya la digna corona os ha tejido;
porque bien la merece de mil flores
aquel que con las tuyas da tal fruto.
También yo mi tributo,
os doy de voluntad, y más os diera
si el cielo más que daros concediera.[22]

Here there is a sense of confidence, an ease of movement, a freedom from small defects and a certain lofty tone which are full of promise.

The earliest of the longer and more pretentious poems is the poetic epistle written early in 1582 to don Juan de Albión from Lérida, "en la sazón en que vino de Alemaña la Sereníssima Emperatriz María."[23] This journey of the widow of Maximilian II was begun at Prague on August 1, 1581, and ended at the Convent of the Descalzas Reales, Madrid, after a dangerous sea voyage and stops of some length in Barcelona, Saragossa, Alcalá de Henares and El Pardo.[24] In her entourage was Lupercio's father,[25] who had served the Emperor as secretary, and it is natural that the young poet should have gone to join the party upon its arrival at Barcelona on January 6, 1582.

This letter from Lérida is thoroughly characteristic of Lupercio's manner. It has again and again been observed that the predominating note in the works of the Argensolas is a certain didacticism, philosophical, moral and religious; and Lupercio here tells us that his ideal would be to write in epic strain of the Goths driving back the Moors from the fastnesses of the Pyrenees, that by this means he might arouse the young men of his own generation:

Haré ver con vergüenza a mil mozuelos,
que viven de sí mismos satisfechos,
cuán diferentes eran sus abuelos.[26]

Such a poem he never wrote, and probably but little success

[22] *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 390.
[23] *Rimas*, Index to the poems of Lupercio.
[24] Padre Jaime Nonell, *La Santa Duquesa*, op. cit., Appendix 11.
[25] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
[26] *Rimas*, p. 51.

would have attended his efforts had he begun it, as he himself hints:

> Digo que muchas veces he querido
> heroycos escrivir, i lo he dexado
> por verme paralítico i tullido.[27]

The idea, however, never left him, and found expression in his prose histories.

Similarly, the Horatian spirit which pervades so much of his work, and because of which he and his brother have been called "los Horacios de España," makes its appearance in these *tercetos*. Lupercio speaks at length of the difficulty with which he writes and of the pains which he takes to achieve perfection:

> En vano pido aliento al sacro Coro:
> pues para hazer un verso, y esse manco,
> primero he de sudar por cada poro . . .
> Borro, i buelvo a escrivir lo que havía escrito,
> i más que algún gran príncipe inconstante
> lo mismo que aprovava luego quito.[28]

But these statements must not be taken too seriously. The tragedies, which were written perhaps as early as 1581, show that their author was already a facile versifier. We should assume, rather, that these confessions are inspired by Horace, who thus early appears as Lupercio's master. The desire and the inability to write heroic verses is expressed repeatedly by Horace, and in very similar words.[29] The Latin poet was equally insistent on the necessity of constant revision,[30] and referred to his odes as *operosa carmina*. In the same way, Lupercio's statement,

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[29] *Epist.* II, i, 250 ff.
Nec sermones ego mallem
Repentes per humum, quam res componere gestas . . .
Si, quantum cuperem, possem quoque . . .
[30] *De Arte Poet.*, 291–294 and *passim.*

Yo nunca supe en término preciso
escrivir cuatro versos concertados
ni hazer como otros libros de improviso,[31]

may have been due to the ridicule heaped by Horace on the practice of improvisation.[32]

In his complaint that poetry cannot be written except in company with the country-loving Muses, Lupercio is but echoing Horace, as he himself indicates:

Lugares de quietud, i despoblados,
i no tumulto i gritos, dize Horacio
que son para las Musas dedicados . . .
Mira, pues, si con esta compañía,
de mesón en mesón, querrán seguirme
las señoras Urania i Polimnía.[33]

Horace's praise of country life[34] is reflected at the end of Lupercio's epistle, where he withdraws in imagaination into the pleasant retirement of a life devoted to literature:

Pero si alguna vez de Dios impetro
la quietud que yo precio i más desseo
que de ti, España, la corona i cetro:
si entre cuatro paredes yo me veo:
si puedo hazer con mis dineros humo,
i alguna cosa lícita posseo:
yo juro de poner cuydado sumo
en hazer a las Musas larga enmienda
por este tiempo ocioso que consumo.[35]

Other specific recollections of Horace are not infrequent,[36] but in general the classical influence is indirect. Although there are decided similarities in parallel passages from this poem and from

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[31] *Rimas*, p. 37.
[32] Sat. I, iv, 9–13 and *passim*.
[33] *Rimas*, pp. 37–40. Lupercio wrote to Llorente (Sept. 22, 1598): "Y assí . . .trataré con las musas históricas, porque las otras quieren bosques y amenidades y acá no los hay, sino mucho estruendo." Cf. Hor., *Epist.*, Bk. II, ii, 77–80.
[34] *Epod.* II; *Sat.*, Bk. II, vi; and *passim*.
[35] *Rimas*, pp. 46–47.
[36] E. g., the duty of the honest critic (*Rimas*, p. 40. Cf. *De Arte Poet.*, 419–452).

the works of Horace, in praise of moderation and contentment, or on the vices of flattery, excessive ambition, drunkenness and gluttony, Lupercio's letter is not an imitation of any composition of Horace, and it is doubtful if he had at hand a copy of Horace when he wrote it. With all its wealth of classical allusion, it is free from pedantry, and satirizes conditions which existed in the later years of the reign of Philip II. When denouncing the bibulous habits of the Hapsburg court of Spain, he says:

> Mal haya el que primero de Alemaña
> nos truxo el brindis sucio i sus abusos.
> Pues no pudo con armas en campaña,
> con este vicio i otros imagino
> que pretendió triunfar de nuestra España.[37]

Similar testimony is given by Juan de Valdés, who in his *Diálogo de la lengua*[38] enumerated among the ways in which the nobles squandered their estates

> el juego, el vestir, *el vanquetear*, que son tres cosas que con la venida de su Magestad [Carlos V] en España an crecido en tanta manera que os prometo que se siente largamente en todas partes.

There are many references to the Church, and the poet's anger is directed especially against those who practice simony, and

> los que procuran en el templo
> dexar resplandeziente sepoltura,
> i no con sus virtudes buen ejemplo.[39]

The whole smacks of seventeenth century Spain. *Refranes* are incorporated into the verse.[40] A digression on the qualities of

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[37] *Rimas.*, p. 37.
[38] Ed. J. Moreno Villa, Madrid, 1919, p. 208.
[39] *Rimas*, p. 42.
[40] Cada cual dizen que habla de la feria
como en ella le ha ido . . . (p. 44).
No dexará la mona de ser mona
(como dize el refrán) aunque le ciña
la frente como a reyna una corona (p. 48).

post mules is obviously reminiscent of personal experience. There is a reference to the mania of being a *cristiano viejo*, to the adventurers who sought their fortunes in the New World, to the Feria de Medina, to the favor in which Flemish cooks were held. And the *rufián cobarde* appears before us as in an *entremés*.

As far as the content and inspiration of his satires are concerned, Lupercio seems to have found himself at the age of twenty-two. Later compositions, such as the famous *Sátira a la Marquesilla*,[41] are not greatly different in tone, but surpass this *carta* to don Juan in nicety and elegance of expression and in the perfection of the hendecasyllable.[42]

In 1584 Lupercio wrote three *octavas* in praise of Juan Rufo, *jurado de Córdoba*, which were printed in the preliminary pages of the latter's *Austriada*.[43] Though ingenious, and in other respects pleasing, they carry their exaggerated eulogy to the point of absurdity. The sonnet written early in 1585[44] on the occasion of the Duke of Savoy's embarking for Spain to marry the Infanta Catalina,[45] is inspired in the first lines of the Ode of Horace to the ship which was carrying Virgil;[46] but it is developed independently through fourteen graceful lines. It was included by Pedro Espinosa in his *Flores de poetas ilustres de España*.[47] Somewhat less graceful is a second sonnet written when the marriage took place at Saragossa,[48] but both are deserving of recognition as pleasant bits of occasional verse.

To this same period belongs the poem read by Lupercio in the *Academia de los Humildes*[49] to explain the name of Bárbaro which his wife, doña Mariana Bárbara de Albión, had given him,

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[41] *Muy bien se muestra, Flora, que no tienes. Rimas*, p. 52 ff.

[42] Of the poem under consideration, Menéndez y Pelayo says: "Se nota en ella más soltura y desaliño que en otros versos del poeta" (*Horacio en España*, Madrid, 1885, II, p. 83, where he makes passing mention of it). In the 182 tercets, there is no line which cannot be forced into the mold of the hendecasyllable, but lines lacking in smoothness are rather common, e. g., *Borro i buelvo a escriuir lo que havía escrito*, and *sino algún gran poltrón parabolano.*

[43] Madrid, 1584. Cf. *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 36.

[44] The Duke reached Barcelona on Feb. 18, 1585. Balaguer, *Hist. de Cataluña*, Vol. VII, pp. 122–123.

[45] *Rimas* p. 132.

[46] Bk. I, Ode iii.

[47] Valladolid, 1605, Vol. I, num. 141.

[48] *Rimas*, p. 132.

[49] cf. *supra*, p. 44 ff.

and which he used as his pseudonym in the Academy. These *tercetos*[50] resemble in many ways the letter from Lérida, and are, as Menéndez y Pelayo indicates, another example of *sátira horaciana*[51]. But while a Horatian tone pervades this satire on false nobility, on the courtesan and her followers, on fawning and office seeking, it is very possible that the central idea of the piece may represent a reminiscence of certain lines from the third Satire of Juvenal. Beginning with a dissertation on the significance of a name, the poet shows that Bárbaro is a fitting name for him, who is a *bárbaro ignorante* according to the standards of the Court, which demands that one live its life, forgetting all lofty aspirations. In the same way Juvenal complained (III, 41 ff.) that because of his honorable and independent character he found himself ostracized when in Rome. This is the second of the three long satires written by Lupercio.

The execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, in February, 1587, aroused general indignation in Spain, and called forth a sonnet[52] of Lupercio Leonardo, inspired by the *Aeneid*, II, 403, ff. The fragment of a letter from Lupercio to his brother Bartolomé, written in 1589, has, in its present state, an interest more biographical than literary. From it we learn that Bartolomé had recently been ordained and was then parish priest at Villahermosa, near Valencia; that the third brother, Pedro, had just entered the Augustinian order;[53] and that Lupercio had for two years been in Madrid with his patron, the Duque de Villahermosa. The *tercetos* reveal the tender family affection which joined the three brothers, express Lupercio's unhappiness at Court and his longing for the retirement so dear to him. In its complete form the espistle undoubtedly was, or would have been, another satirical expression of his pent-up disgusts, with veiled portraits of the *gente inútil* of the Court:

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[50] *Rimas*, p. 73 ff.
[51] *Horacio en España*, Vol. II, p. 85.
[52] *Ofrecen hoy los pérfidos britanos*, *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 12. Cf. footnote and *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, p. 349. This is obviously one of Lupercio's weaker sonnets and is not free from padding.
[53] Feb. 22, 1589.

Volviendo al tema, digo que no quiero,
como si de Madrid hiciese historia,
poner su descripción aquí primero;
que tú la tienes viva en la memoria,
y sólo he de traer de lo que importe
para que mi pasión te sea notoria;
Madrid es una funda de la Corte;
no trato della, estése enhorabuena;
sus límites alargue, o los acorte.

Here ends the fragment as given by Pellicer[54] and the Conde de la Viñaza.[55] The following additional tercets are found in Ms. 4271 of the Biblioteca Nacional, folio 570:

De la gente diré de que está llena,
gente, que por rebelde a Dios, a dado
en el vientre cruel de la ballena;
que por esto Ballena le han llamado,
y a los siglos que tiene, Ballenatos,
y no por lo del asno alanzeado.
De algunos pondré enteros los retratos,
de otros alguna parte, según sean
las calidades de su vida y tratos.
Ya tú ves que a los montes los rodean
nubes las cumbres: yo también procuro
que de todos los rostros no se vean.

The versification is free and smooth. The poet is writing because he feels he must find expression. We can only regret the fragmentary state of the poem.

To the same year of 1589 it is possible to assign two compositions which show that at the age of thirty Lupercio had fully developed his poetic powers. To the excellent satirical qualities displayed in the tercets addressed to D. Juan de Albión, to the *Academia de los Humildes*, and to Bartolomé Leonardo, has been added a lyric quality which recalls the Horace of the Odes and the Virgil of the Eclogues. It is this latter quality

[54] *Op cit.*, pp. 8–10.
[55] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 17 ff.

which distinguishes the work of Lupercio from that of his brother.

In the year mentioned fray Juan de Tolosa published at Saragossa a book entitled *Aranjuez del alma*,[56] dedicated to the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, and on the occasion of its appearance, we are told by the Index of the *Rimas*, Lupercio Leonardo wrote the *tercetos* beginning

> Hay un lugar en la mitad de España.[57]

From these *tercetos* it appears that Tolosa had made the Royal palace and wood of Aranjuez an allegorical paradise. Each corner of the palace represented one of the four Evangelists. There were "estanques mansos de la perfecta vida," and corresponding to the virtues there were long promenades where the soul might walk secure. Continuing the idea of this allegory, and imitating an eclogue written by don Gómez de Tapia on the birth of this same Infanta Isabel,[58] Lupercio composed seventy-five tercets which constitute a hymn of praise to the King, to Prince Philip and to Princess Isabella, and in which a description is given of Aranjuez as the only region on earth that could compare with the ideal city imagined by Tolosa,[59] fit dwelling for the Infanta while she waits

> hasta que venga el celestial Esposo
> a darle el premio eterno, al cual aspira.[60]

The close relation between this poem of Lupercio Leonardo and the eclogue of Gómez de Tapia was noticed by López de Sedano, who in the third volume of his *Parnaso español*[61] pub-

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[56] *Aranivez del alma, a modo de diálogos: en el qval se contienen graves, y diferentes materias para todos los estados: y en particular se tratan las que se suelen predicar en el Aduiento, Nauidad, Circuncisión, Reyes: y Presentación de Nuestra Señora . . . A la Serenissima Infanta doña Isabel Clara Eugenia, hija del Rey Filipo nuestro señor segundo deste nombre. . .*

[57] *Rimas*, p. 116.

[58] It was first published by Argote de Molina in his edition of the *Libro de Montería, que mandó escrivir . . . el Rey Don Alfonso*, Seville, 1582.

[59] Porque si en este suelo alguna cosa
con las que trata semejanza tiene,
es sola su ribera deleytosa. *Rimas*, p. 121.

[60] *Rimas*, p. 123.

[61] Madrid, 1770.

lished together the eclogue and the first thirty-one tercets of the *Segunda descripción de Aranjuez por Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola*, with this note:[62]

Como tiene esta hermosa composición tanta oportunidad y correspondencia con la antecedente, se ha colocado a su continuación, aunque por lo que mira a la descripción la excede en la hermosura y belleza de los pensamientos y del estilo, ya que por haberla escrito pocos tiempos después no le pudo exceder en la de la extensión, magnificencia y hermosura, que si hubiera alcanzado la diferencia de lo que fué en sus principios a lo que es hoy este deliciosísimo sitio. Compuso nuestro Lupercio esta elegía en elogio del libro intitulado: *Aranjuez del alma*, que escribió fray Juan de Tolosa, Agustino, y se introduce describiendo primero el sitio material, que le sirve de fundamento, para entrar elogiando el metafórico, que por ser demasiado largo se omite en esta colección.

That Lupercio leaned heavily upon his predecessor is evident from even a rapid comparison of the two poems;[63] but there

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[62] Page 208.

[63]

Argensola

Hay un lugar en la mitad de España,
donde Tajo a Xarama el nombre quita,
i con sus ondas de cristal lo baña:
  Que nunca en él la yerva vió marchita
el sol, por más que al Etiope encienda,
o con su ausencia hiele al duro Scita.
  O que Naturaleza condescienda,
o que venzida dexe obrar al Arte,
i serle en vano superior pretenda:
  al fin jamás se ha visto en esta parte
objeto triste, ni desnudo el suelo,
o cosa que de límite se aparte.
  Contrarias aves en conforme buelo
los ayres cortan, i en iguales puntas
las plantas suben alabando al Cielo.

Gómez de Tapia

En lo mejor de la felice España,
do el río Tajo tercia su corrida,
y con sus cristalinas aguas baña
la tierra entre las tierras escogida,
está una Vega de belleza estraña
toda de verde yerba entretejida,
donde natura y arte en competencia
lo último pusieron de potencia.
  Aquí jamás nubloso velo cubre
del siempre claro cielo el rostro hermoso:

are other elements which were not taken from the appendix to the *Libro de Montería*. Repeatedly the poet introduces the idea of a perfect harmony existing among the beasts and birds and fishes of the royal pleasure grounds:

> Las fieras enemigas aquí juntas,
> forman una república quïeta,
> mezclándose en sus pastos i en sus juntas,
> sin temer que el lebrel las acometa:
> o hiera el plomo con terrible estruendo:
> o con mortal silencio la saeta.[64]

Here we see a recollection of the Scriptures so thoroughly familiar to Lupercio,[65] or of Virgil's fourth Eclogue,[66] which is also recalled by the lines addressed to Prince Philip:

> Filipo, tú también, que del abuelo
> i padre emulación gloriosa al mundo
> prometes, i en su pérdida consuelo,
> mientras tu padre con saber profundo,
> i tu niñez te escusan del trabajo,
> entre essas flores andas vagabundo.
> Tiempo vendrá, en que no te ofrezca Tajo
> en su ribera conchas, mas cavallos,
> de aquellos que lo beben más abajo . . .
> Ya, ya la Grecia espera que la libres,
> que abras el passo del Sepulcro santo,
> i que la espada en su defensa bibres.[67]

It is surprising that Lupercio should have followed the plan of a composition which had been published only seven years

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> aquí el tesoro de su luz descubre
> con nuevo resplandor el sol lustroso.
> No se conoce aquí desnudo Octubre:
> perpetuamente es Mayo deleytoso:
> aquí el templado zéfiro se anida,
> y a quantos vienen a nidar convída.

[64] *Rimas*, p. 116.
[65] Cf. Isaiah 11: 6–9.
[66] Lines 20–25.
[67] *Rimas*, pp. 119–120.

before, and which, it seems, must have been known to the Infanta who was the subject of both poems. Perhaps the fact that he surpassed his model is sufficient justification.

In April of this same year of 1589, in the city of Alcalá de Henares, was celebrated with pompous festivals the canonization of San Diego. For the *certamen poético* held on this occasion[68] Lupercio wrote the *canción* which begins

En estas santas ceremonias pías.[69]

This ode has been greatly praised for its lyric qualities. Luzán, in his *Poética*,[70] says of it:

> Pero no sé yo si se podrá fácilmente hallar otro vuelo de poética fantasía más al caso, ni más remontado y noble, que el que he leído en una de las canciones de nuestro excelente poeta Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola. Escribe una canción en alabanza de Felipe segundo, con motivo de las fiestas de la canonización de San Diego: y luego, conmovida y encendida su fantasía por la grandeza del asunto, se remonta como en éxtasis a imaginar la santidad del monarca y sus futuros milagros . . . Así los poetas maestros, concibiendo con arte los afectos proprios de su asunto, se remontan en alas de su fantasía a la más alta región, sin riesgo de caer despeñados; porque, por más que se alejen de nuestra vista, siempre van guiados del juicio, asistidos y regidos del arte y de la prudencia, cuyos consejos y órdenes siguen y obedecen en lo más rápido de sus vuelos.

To Ticknor it is "a *canción* of no mean merit as a poem, but one that shocks all religious feeling, by recalling the apotheosis of the Roman emperors;"[71] and the Duque de Villahermosa says "que es, de todas las suyas, la que tiene mayor arranque, y movimiento lírico más vivo e intenso."[72]

Undoubtedly Luzán would have been less lavish of his praise, and Ticknor would have been less shocked, had they realized,

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[68] Pellicer, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Cf. also the last lines of the *canción:*

Mas pues se me permite que yo cante
entre los cisnes del famoso Henares . . . (*Rimas*, p. 104)

[69] *Rimas*, p. 102.

[70] Madrid, 1789, I, p. 217 ff. I quote not directly, but from a note of Rodríguez Marín to poem 218 of the first volume of the *Flores de poetas ilustres*.

[71] *History of Spanish Literature*, Fourth American edition, III, 239, n.

[72] *Obras*, p. 14.

as the Duque de Villahermosa did,[73] that the *alas de la fantasía* on which Lupercio rose to the heavenly regions, and the temerity with which he canonized a living ruler, were not his own, but Virgil's. Indeed, the first book of the *Georgics*, 24–43, contains the idea and many of the images of the *canción*.

With the canonization of Diego of Alcalá, the Church will have two San Diegos. She already has a Saint Philip. There should also be a *Felipe segundo* in the Calendar, showing God's ability to work through one who wears the purple as well as through a humble monk. This is the thought of the first stanza and a half. Here the poet turns to Virgil, imitating closely his invocation of Augustus:

> ¿Mas de cuál de tus hechos sobrehumanos
> te daremos entonzes apellido?
> ¿si luzirá la espada rigurosa?
> ¿o retorzido en tu corona hermosa
> sus hojas tenderá el olivo sacro
> por propria insignia de tu simulacro?
> O si, cuando la trompa horrible diere
> señal en los exércitos, i tienda
> la roxa Cruz, el viento en las banderas:
> i de la muerte la visión horrenda
> embuelta en humo, i polvo discurriere
> por medio las escuadras, i armas fieras,
> tu nombre ha de sonar en las primeras
> vozes, que diere la española gente,
> pidiendo por tu medio la victoria?
> ¿o si querrás la gloria
> de ser en los Concilios Presidente . . . ?[74]

In the final verses there is a return to the prophecies of the fourth Eclogue, with occasional recollections from the Bible:

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[73] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 32: "El autor acomodó diestramente a su propósito y a la alabanza del Rey algunos versos del proemio de las *Geórgicas*."
[74] *Rimas*, p. 103.

Primero vivirás felizes años,
introduziendo por el ancho mundo
la santa Paz, i la Iusticia unidas,[75]
i gemirá Plutón en el Profundo
de ver por ti deshechos sus engaños.

The poems thus far studied belong to the first eleven years of Lupercio's all too short poetic career. Although his masterpiece[76] has not yet been written, he has shown the principal qualities which appear in his later work. Not all of his poetry has been good; and he will continue to produce some verses which will deserve to be remembered only because he wrote them. His belief in poetry as the handmaid of morality has been evident from the first, as have been the classic models which he followed. The lyric qualities which save him from being over didactic and prosaic have been seen especially in the description of Aranjuez and in the *canción* read at Alcalá. In general he has shown an ease of versification which, although at times it lends itself to digressions,[77] yet adds much to the harmonious effect of his work as a whole.

Of the 112 sonnets by far the greater number are amatory; yet there are almost none which can be regarded as expressing the poet's own love. In the following quatrain the capitalization of the word *Bárbara* makes it seem probable that the sonnet in question referred to doña Mariana Bárbara de Albión, who became Lupercio's wife:

Tanto mi grave sentimiento pudo,
que en la mano de Bárbara violencia
hizo, dando lugar a la Clemencia,
volver el filo del cuchillo agudo . . . [78]

Porque de sus donaires no me río (*Obs. s.*, I, 6) belongs to a some-

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[75] Psalm 85: 10.
[76] The *Sátira a la Marquesilla* (*Muy bien se muestra, Flora, que no tienes*), *Rimas*, p. 52.
[77] This happens more frequently in the case of Bartolomé Leonardo.
[78] *Rimas*, p. 30.

what later period, and in it, as in the *tercetos* read before the *Academia de los Humildes*, we catch a glimpse of his happy married life. Others of the sonnets may reflect episodes of the courtship, but by far the greater number do not fit in with the known facts of Lupercio's biography. They are addressed to Filis, Cloris, Nisa, Ana, Julia, Laura and Galatea, while in the *canciones* the names Amarilis, Dórida and Flérida are added. We know that Galatea was a real person,[79] but the three sonnets addressed to her are probably examples of *discreteo cortesano*, as is *Antes que Ceres conmutase el fruto* (*Rimas*, 21), written "con ocasión de haverle dado la persona, con quien habla en el [soneto], unas bellotas por regalo." It is impossible to assume that each of these names represents an amour. The poems themselves fit into no sequence, present no unity, and are to be regarded as Petrarchistic exercises.

Yet the direct influence of the *Canzoniere* does not appear, as it does in the case of Bartolomé Leonardo. Lupercio's lines,

> Imagen espantosa de la Muerte,
> sueño cruel, no turbes más mi pecho,
> mostrándome cortado el nudo estrecho,
> consuelo solo de mi adversa suerte,[80]

may reflect the first quatrain of Petrarch's sonnet CCXIII:

> O misera et orribil visïone!
> È dunque ver che 'nnanzi tempo spenta
> sia l'alma luce che suol far contenta
> mia vita in pene et in speranze bone?

But the resemblance goes no farther. Similarly, an interesting parallel exists between Lupercio's sonnet,

> Amor, tú que las almas ves desnudas,
> cuéntanos el desdén, i la osadía,

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[79] The editor of the *Rimas* says of the sonnet beginning *O piadoso cristal, que me colocas*, "Escrivióse con ocasión de haver entrado a hablar a la persona, a quien llama en otras partes Galatea, al tiempo que se tocava, por lo cual pudo verse en el mismo espejo." To her are addressed also *Si acaso de la frente Galatea* (p. 28) and *Este prolixo i tenebroso día* (p. 34).

[80] *Rimas*, p. 18.

con que la hermosa Filis resistía
a tus doradas flechas más agudas:
  i dinos las razones, i las dudas,
con que después de herida se encubría,
si sobervia o vergüenza detenía
lo que mostravan apariencias mudas.
  Lo que nosotros vimos acá fuera
fué colorearse el rostro como rosa,
i huir de nuestros ojos sus dos soles;
  cual suele Phebo al fin de su carrera,
robando su color a cada cosa,
las nubes adornar con arreboles,[81]

and the following *rima* of Torquato Tasso:

Donna, chi vi colora
Come vermiglia e mattutina Aurora?
Forse è piacer, che'l volto
Così v'orna e dipinge,
Star non potendo dentro il core accolto?
O vergogna, che tinge
Il candor della fede,
Che per difetto rossegiar si vede?
Ma qualunque tu sia,
Color soave della Donna mia,
Per te la colpa ancor bella saria.[82]

But influence is extremely hard to establish, and I have not found direct imitation of the Italians in the lyric works of Lupercio.[83] The works of Petrarch's continuators, however, were thoroughly familiar to the Spanish poet, and nearly all of his love poetry is written in their manner. There is scarcely a type of Italian sonnet, with the exception of those showing the preciosity of the *quattrocento*, which does not have a counterpart in the *Rimas*. At times there is a voluptuous element which might recall Ariosto:

[81] *Rimas*, p. 26.
[82] *Opere complete*, Venezia, Giuseppe Picotti, Vol. I, p. 780, num. 77.
[83] This is the more surprising in that Lupercio was not loath to borrow from Dolce and Gialdi Cintio when he composed his tragedies, and imitated Gómez de Tapia in the *tercetos* studied above. It should be remembered that an incident in Lupercio's *Isabela* is taken from the *Gerusalemme liberata*. Cf. *supra*, p. ~~166~~. 106.

Sin duda que esta red de hierro dura
es la que a Marte i Venus fué molesta,
cuando en su lecho con engaño puesta
sirvió de ignominiosa ligadura.
Allí en su gloria derramó amargura,
haziéndola a los dioses manifiesta,
i aquí en la mía con crueldad opuesta
en vano haze pasar la noche obscura.
Allá en obscuras cárceles contiende,
o Máquina cruel, con hombres fieros,
cuyos pechos te son tan semejantes:
O enciéndete en el fuego que me enciende,
i mudarán tu forma los deseos
que Amor inspira en estos dos amantes.[84]

At other times there is the exaggerated worship of the *petrarquistas:*

Diuina Julia, en quien naturaleza
conforme al pensamiento te dispuso,
y con tan diestra mano se compuso
que aun al deseo excede la destreza,
no te ofenda, señora, la dureza
de mi grosero ingenio . . .;[85]

and even a Bembistic denial of the senses:

No fueron tus divinos ojos, Ana,
los que al yugo amoroso me han rendido:
ni los rosados labios, dulce nido
del ciego niño, donde néctar mana:
ni las mexillas de color de grana:
ni el cabello, que al oro es preferido:

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[84] The same note is found in *Antes que Ceres conmutase el fruto* (p. 21) and *Ausente está de mí la mayor parte* (p. 27) but there is nothing approaching the baldness of Ariosto's *Capitolo VI, O più che'l giorno a me lucida e chiara.*
[85] *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, p. 372.

ni las manos, que a tantos han venzido:
ni la voz, que está en duda si es humana.
Tu alma, que en tus obras se trasluze,
es la que sujetar pudo la mía . . . [86]

The characteristic metaphors and similes of the Petrarchistic schools are present in the work of Lupercio. In one of the sonnets quoted above his lady's blush is compared to the tints of sunset. In others the poet's love is likened to the flight of Icarus[87] and to a storm-tossed ship,[88] while the lifting of the lady's veil recalls the glare of a lightning flash at night.[89]. Tears produce no more effect on the lady's severity than upon the volume of the ocean, whither they are borne by the Ebro's current.[90] In two graceful sonnets[91] the lady's mirror is the subject. Purely pastoral is *Esta cueva que veys toda vestida.*[92] Historical meditation, in the manner of the famous *Superbi colli* of Castiglione,[93] is found in three sonnets, in which the poet contemplates the ruins of Saguntum and compares his own lot to that of the heroic city:

Muros, ya muros no, sino trasunto
de nuestras breves glorias i blasones:
pues tiene puesto el mundo en opiniones
si soys, o no, reliquias de Sagunto.[94]

In all these sonnets the inspiration is indirectly Petrarchistic. In another group—the group containing the most famous sonnets of Lupercio—the inspiration is classical and Horatian. Of these, some are amatory in character. In *Quien volun-*

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[86] *Rimas*, p. 25.
[87] *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, p. 373.
[88] *Rimas*, p. 33.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[91] *En el claro cristal que agora tienes* (Rimas, p. 26) and *O, piadoso cristal, que me colocas* (*Ibid.*, p. 29).
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[93] Cf. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Notes sur le sonnet "Superbi Colli,"* *Rev. Hisp.*, XI (1904) pp. 225–243.
[94] *Rimas*, p. 19.

tariamente se destierra[95] and *Dentro quiero vivir de mi fortuna*[96] we find praise of the golden mean, with the love of Fili as the crowning joy of the poet's contentment. The Horatian horror of the storm and stress of life is reflected in *Cuándo podré besar la seca arena*[97]. The jocose Horace, who sounds a warning to his enamoured friends, is recalled in *De media noche passo y no te aguardo*[98] and *En sus ligeras alas confiado.*[99] And it is to Horace that Lupercio is indebted for his inspiration in the two sonnets which most truly represent his art, and which have won general admiration ever since Espinosa published them in 1605 in the *Flores de poetas ilustres:*

Llevó tras sí los pámpanos Otubre,
i, con las grandes lluvias insolente,
no sufre Ibero márgenes ni puente:
mas antes los vecinos campos cubre.
Moncayo, como suele, ya descubre
coronada de nieve la alta frente:
i el sol apenas vemos en Oriente,
cuando la opaca tierra nos lo encubre.
Sienten el mar i selvas ya la saña
del Aquilón, i encierra su bramido
gente en el puerto, i gente en la cabaña.
I Fabio en el umbral de Thais tendido
con vergonzosas lágrimas lo baña,
deviéndolas al tiempo que ha perdido,[100]

and

Tras importunas lluvias amaneze
coronando los montes el sol claro:
salta del lecho el labrador avaro,
que las horas ociosas aborreze.
La torba frente al duro yugo ofreze
del[101] animal que a Europa fué tan caro:

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[95] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[98] *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, p. 373.
[99] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 11.
[100] *Rimas*, p. 72.
[101] The reading of the *Rimas* is *el*. I give here the reading of Espinosa, *Flores*, I, núm. 22. Cf. the note of the modern editors of the *Flores*.

sale, de su familia firme amparo,
i los surcos solícito enriqueze.
Buelve de noche a su muger honesta,
que lumbre, mesa i lecho le apercive,
i el enxambre de hijuelos le rodea.
Fáciles cosas cena con gran fiesta,
el sueño sin envidia le recive:
¡O Corte! ¡o confusión! ¿Quién te dessea?[102]

Two of the sonnets are translations from classical authors. *En otro tiempo, Lesbia, tú decías*, which translates the *Dicebas quondam* (*Carmen LXXII*) of Catullus, has been attributed also to Bartolomé, but the testimony of the manuscripts in which it is found,[103] and its inclusion by Espinosa in the *Flores de poetas ilustres* under the name of Lupercio, make it seem probable that it was written by the elder of the Argensolas.[104] The translation is close, but less pleasing than the rendering, equally faithful, of the *Quis multa gracilis* (Ode V of Bk. I) of Horace:

¿Quién es el tierno mozo, que entre rosas,
i con olores líquidos bañado,
tienes, Pyrra, en tu cueva regalado?
¿Por quién trenzas las hebras de oro hermosas?
¡Ay, cómo llorará las mentirosas
promesas, cuando el cielo esté mudado:
con negro viento el fiero mar inchado,
i él atónito i nuevo en estas cosas!
Tiénete agora, i piensa que contino
la misma le serás, que le parezes,
del mentiroso viento no advertido.
¡Ay de aquel a quien nueva resplandezes!
Yo, pintado en el Templo, al Dios marino
muestro haver dado el húmedo vestido.[105]

Thirteen sonnets are of a religious character. In general

[102] *Rimas*, p. 84.
[103] Cf. *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, pp. 346 and 358, and *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 11, note, and p. 18.
[104] It may be read in *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 18 and *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XLII, p. 290.
[105] *Rimas*, p. 146.

they are prosaic, being raised from mediocrity only by the thought which they express; but on occasions the poet rises above this level. The following, the first quatrain of which has already been quoted, is full of poetry and expresses the soul's seeking after the Infinite:

El ímpetu cruel de mi destino,
¡cómo me arroja miserablemente
de tierra en tierra, de una en otra gente,
cerrando a mi quietud siempre el camino!
¡O si, tras tanto mal grave y contino,
roto su velo mísero y doliente,
el alma con un vuelo diligente
volviesse a la región de donde vino!
Yría por el cielo en compañía
del alma de algún caro y dulce amigo
con quïen fué común acá mi suerte.
¡O qué montón de cosas le diría,
quáles, y quántas, sin temer castigo
de fortuna, de amor, de tiempo o muerte![106]

Las tristes de Faetón bellas hermanas belongs to the small group of sonnets dealing with mythological subjects.[107] Of didactic tendency are *El lamentable són del campo griego*[108] and *Buelve del campo el labrador cansado.*[109] In the sonnet against Jupiter it would be easy to find a veiled satire directed against the third of Spain's Philips, were it not for the staunch loyalty, amounting in some cases to adulation, found in other verses of Lupercio and in the record of his public life:

Si entras como ladrón por los tejados
corrompiendo con oro las donzellas,
i quieres que tengamos por estrellas
tus hijos de adulterios engendrados;
si vemos que te embuelves en pecados

[106] *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, p. 381.
[107] *Rimas*, p. 22. Lupercio is said to have written a *Fábula de Apolo y Dafne.* "Dice Latassa que D. Joaquín Traggia poseía dicha fábula; pero no se halla entre los muchos volúmenes Mss. que de este escolapio posee la Academia de la Historia." Note of Viñaza, *Obras sueltas*, Vol. I, p. xxi.
[108] *Rimas*, p. 83.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

que hazer suelen al Cielo echar centellas;
si están de ti los buenos con querellas,
i los malos contentos i premiados;
¿por qué te enojas, Iúpiter, si el humo
de Sabá no te da por las narizes,
ni víctimas se matan en tu Templo?
¿Esso preguntas? porque soy Rey sumo,
i les doy justas leyes: muy bien dizes
si les das con las leyes buen exemplo.[110]

Passing over the sonnets written as letters to friends, or in commemoration of some event,[111] we have to concern ourselves only with those of a satirical character. Some of these are certainly in bad taste, and seem not so much a reproof of social abuses as an expression of a certain delight in satire for its own sake. But in this respect the secular Lupercio is far behind his ordained brother. One of the least admirable is the sonnet against Licoris.[112] A favorite theme is the falseness of feminine adornments:

Oialá suyo assí llamar pudiera
Gala cuanto hay desde la frente al cuello,
como puede con causa a su cabello,
que suyo es, pues compró la cabellera . . .[113]

Of real artistic and ethical value is the sonnet against an *alcahueta:*

Quien dar más bueltas viere a tu rosario,
que en la noria a la sarta de arcaduzes,
que más beve del Tajo, i con más cruzes
adornada tu casa, que un Calvario,
dirá que desde luego un santüario
te preparen con lámparas i luzes:
que entre ellas i entre huevos de avestruzes
tus reliquias aguarde un relicario.
Esto dirálo el sol, mas no la luna,

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[110] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[111] A good example of the latter class is *Excelso monte, cuya frente altiva, Rimas*, p. 131. Cf. the Index.
[112] *Con la lengua los labios apercibe, Obras sueltas*, II, p. 17.
[113] *Rimas*, p. 70.

testigo de las obras, o devota,
con que a Lidia conservas el devoto:
pues ¿qué dirá? que no hay iusticia alguna
si no pueblan tus tocas la Picota,
i yo seré con ella deste voto.[114]

The echoing sonnet, *Después que al mundo el Rey divino vino*,[115] is a mere *tour de force*, a type of metrical exercise much less pleasing to the modern ear than the legitimate echo poem.[116]

Of the thirteen *canciones* three are amatory, five are religious, two are epithalamiums, one is a translation of Horace, one is personal, and one (already studied) is in praise of Philip II.[117]

The three amatory *canciones* are addressed respectively to Amarilis, Dórida and Flérida. The first, to Amarilis[118] is described by the editor of the *Rimas* (Index) in the following words:

Lamenta la mudanza de su fortuna, por la cual vienen a serle instrumentos de pena sus sentidos, como en otro tiempo lo havían sido de gozo.

Its long stanzas are at times wearisome, yet they contain poetic passages, some of which are vaguely reminiscent of Garcilaso.

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[114] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[115] *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, pp. 338–339.
[116] Fray Luis de León has a similar sonnet, *Mucho a la Majestad sagrada agrada*, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XXV, p. 44. The echo poems are common both in Spanish and Italian literature. Cf. *Cancionero General*, II, p. 21 (Juan del Enzina).
[117] I have excluded the *canción Rayaba el sol al levantar del día*, "copiada de un Códice que se conserva inédito en la Biblioteca Colombina," and published in the *Revista de ciencias, literatura y artes*, dirigida por D. Manuel Cañete y D. José Fernández-Espino, Tomo segundo, Sevilla, Francisco Álvarez y Compañía, 1856, pp. 591–595, together with a *canción* attributed to Bartolomé Leonardo (*Resplandeciente Isabela*). Volume IV of the same *Revista* contains another *canción inédita* (*Madre de los valientes de la guerra*). These *canciones* appear in none of the mss. seen by Foulché-Delbosc (*Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, pp. 317–496). *Madre de los valientes de la guerra* is now known to be of Cervantes. The *canción* in question (*Rayaba el sol*) is not at all in Lupercio's manner. I therefore feel that it cannot be regarded as his without more difinite evidence than the statement of its unknown editor. The fact that it is addressed to Belisa makes one think at once of Lope de Vega, but in that case we should expect a *romance* rather than a *canción*.
[118] *Rimas*, p. 1.

Thoroughly conventional is the *canción*[119] "a una toca, dada por favor." The poet begins with a picture of the shipwrecked Ulysses, aided in his struggle with the waves by the magic veil of Ino. In a like manner, though in a more angry sea, the poet was struggling when Dórida condescended to give him the *toca* which brought him to safety. He will navigate no more, but will hang the *toca* in the temple of his memory. Although there are a few Horatian recollections in the poem, the spirit of Horace is lacking, as is also any true poetic feeling.

Completely Horatian is the *canción* in which five beautiful stanzas on the power of hope are an exordium to an appeal to Flérida to be less severe with her lover. This is undoubtedly the poet's most graceful *canción*, and it brings us again to the conclusion that Lupercio's real master was Horace.

Aplácase muy presto
el temor importuno
y déjase llebar de la esperança;
infierno es manifiesto
no ver indiçio alguno
de que puede en la pena hauer mudança.
Aflixe la tardança
del bien, pero consuela,
si se espera, saber que el tiempo buela.[120]
Alivia sus fatigas
el labrador cansado
cuando su yerta barba escarcha cubre,
pensando en las espigas
del agosto abrasado,
i en los lagares ricos del otubre . . .[121]

Horace's *Beatus ille* (Epode II) is beautifully translated in the *canción* beginning

Dichoso el que, apartado
de negocios, imita

[119] *Rimas*, p. 7.
[120] *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, p. 387. This first stanza is lacking in the *Rimas*, and until its publication by Foulché-Delbosc the canción was incomplete.
[121] *Rimas*, p. 5.

a la primera gente de la tierra:
i en el campo heredado
de su padre exercita
sus bueyes, i la usura no le afierra:
no le despierta la espantosa guerra,
ni el mar con són horrendo le amenaza.
Huye la curial plaza,
i las soberbias puertas de los vanos,
ricos i poderosos ciudadanos.[122]

The force of the last lines, which makes the Horatian original an epode and not an ode, is preserved perfectly in the Spanish:

Mientras Alfio usurero
estas cosas relata,
mediado el mes recoje su dinero,
i de ser labrador rústico trata:
mas luego a las Kalendas
lo buelve a dar a usura sobre prendas.[123]

The Georgics of Virgil are recalled by a *canción* of a personal nature "en que muestra [el autor] sentimiento de tener causa de sospechar que un amigo suyo se havía entibiado en su amistad."[124] After comparing his friendship with Julio to the affection which bound Castor and Pollux, and Saturn and Janus, and to the unity of the three bodies of Geryon, Lupercio ends his poem with these beautiful and touching lines:

Palabras verdaderas, si no claras,
para que cuando pase Iulio os lea,
por mí quedad en esta piedra dura.
Si os buelve Tirsi a ver como dessea
celebradas sereys con ricas aras,
i si no, con su pobre sepoltura:
i de su fe segura
al mundo haréys testigo.
Tú, caminante amigo,

[122] *Rimas*, p. 136.
[123] *Rimas*, p. 138.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 77. Cf. Index to the poems of Lupercio.

que paraste a leer, no las ofendas,
aunque su oculta propriedad no entiendas,
que, si bien son pobríssimas de estilo,
tienen mayores prendas
que las mudas Pyrámides del Nilo.[125]

The religious *canciones* are to be classed in general as occasional verse. The ode beginning *Eres tú a quien el mundo*, according to the Index of the *Rimas*, "celebra el no haver admitido San Raymundo de Peñafort el Arzobispado de Tarazona." Lupercio has also a sonnet "en las fiestas que la ciudad de Barcelona tubo prevenidas para solenizar la translación del cuerpo de San Raymundo de Peñafort."

Bartolomé Leonardo has four compositions on the life and canonization of this Saint, and it is probable that both brothers competed in a *justa poética* held in connection with these *fiestas*.[126] The *canción al martirio de San Lorenzo*[127] was in all probability written for some similar occasion, for Bartolomé Leonardo has two odes on the same subject. *Divino patriarca*[128] was composed, we are told by the Index,

"a nombre de D. Diego de Álava, cuando en el año de 1590 dió a los Monges Benitos de Valladolit una insigne reliquia de San Benito, la cual havía dado a su padre don Franzés de Álava, . . . siendo Embaxador del Rey nuestro señor en Francia, la christianíssima Reyna Catalina de Médicis.

The ode "a la impresión de las llagas de San Francisco"[129] seems to stand alone, and may be simply the result of the poet's meditation.

The subject matter of these poems is difficult to handle. They are usually epic in tone, and not without *brío*. In none of them is there a note of mysticism. As poems they are in good taste, elegant, and more inspired than the religious sonnets. In the following stanza the poet asks of Saint Lawrence what

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[125] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.
[126] They were held in May of 1601. Cf. Balaguer, *Hist. de Cataluña*, VII, p. 244.
[127] *Rimas*, p. 110. Cf. Index.
[128] *Rimas*, p. 107.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

visions he saw as the flames surrounded him in the Roman Forum:

> Dinos, Lavrencio, ¿qué corona i palma,
> por angélicas manos sustentadas,
> o qué escuadrones te descubrió el Cielo?
> ¿Con qué triunfo esperavan que tu alma
> dexase tus cenizas consagradas,
> i diesse para Dios el alto buelo?
> ¿Rompióse acaso el velo
> del Trono soberano,
> i viste al que en su mano
> tiene todos los fines de la tierrra?
> ¿Quiién te dió valor en esta guerra?
> Devístele de ver, no tengo duda,
> i viste cómo yerra
> quien sólo en lo de acá pide su ayuda.[130]

It is not, however, in the evocation of the faith and works of the medieval saints that Lupercio's religious fervor is stirred to its depths, but rather in the contemplation of the glories of the Mother of God. In the *Canción a la Asunción de Nuestra Señora*, the theme so dear to the Latin soul takes full possession of his fancy, and he produces a poem which is spontaneously and deeply beautiful. Its inspiration is in the *Song of Songs*, interpreted as expressing the longing of the Virgin for her Son, after the crucifixion. The period of waiting past, Mary is received into Heaven and God Himself welcomes her. I shall quote only a part of the second stanza:

> Ya no como tórtola gimiendo
> suspiras tu divino amado ausente,
> a quien con voz doliente
> enferma de su amor poco há diciendo
> ibas: de el cielo y tierra el más hermoso
> ¿dónde estás tú, la luz del mediodía?
> Suene tu dulce voz en mis oídos,
> ocupe tu belleza mis sentidos:

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¿Quién alas de paloma me daría
para llegar con vuelo presuroso
al sacro tabernáculo precioso
do moras y das palma de victoria,
clara luz, sumo gozo, eterna gloria?[131]

The last words of the *canción* make it clear that it was read at some public festival.

Of the ten compositions in *terza rima*, four were discussed among the early works. Of the remaining six, three are religious, one is laudatory, one a familiar epistle, and one the satire which is Lupercio's masterpiece.

The *tercetos en la fiesta de las cadenas de San Pedro*[132] tell the story, as found in the twelfth chapter of the Acts, of Peter's escape from prison, with divine aid. Another poem[133] is a *proemio en certamen del Santísimo Sacramento;* and the tercets beginning *Cuando en la sed del implacable estío*[134] tell of capture of the ancient Roman town of Illiturgi by the Moors, of the flight of the Christian inhabitants to Asturias, carrying with them the relics of St. Euphrasius, and of the restoration of the relics by Dr. Terrones to their former resting place, the modern Andújar[135]. These three poems are more prosaic than the *canciones* just discussed.

The epistle written in 1604 from Lupercio's country place at Monzalbarba to his friend, Dr. Domingo de Vengochea, is preserved incomplete. The *tercetos* are, to use the word of the Conde de la Viñaza, *gallardísimos*, and, in the fragment that has come down to us, describe Lupercio's country surroundings

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[131] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 39.
[132] *Rimas*, p. 92. Cf. Index.
[133] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 26.
[134] *Rimas*, p. 87.
[135] On May 6, 1597, Bartolomé Leonardo wrote to Llorente: "Remitiré a Vm. presto un capítulo en tercetos que ha hecho Lupercio a ruego de Terrones, en que cuenta la causa de la oscuridad que hay en España de las reliquias, y luego una canción mía a Sto. Eufrasio con que se ha partido [Terrones] muy contento a trasladalle." This Dr. Terrones was a friend of both Leonardos, and preached, it will be remembered, the funeral sermon of Philip II, published by Lupercio. Cf. *supra*, p. 62, N. I.

and express a very favorable opinion about a book which had been sent him in manuscript.[136]

Brilliant, graceful, harmonious, yet scathing, is the famous satire against *la Marquesilla*.[137] Its one fault is its excessive length; but while the 182 tercets might be reduced in number, there is not one which in itself does not possess charm. The crudities of Bartolomé Leonardo in his satire on Salamanca and Valladolid[138] are not found in this composition of Lupercio. The poem begins:

> Muy bien se muestra, Flora, que no tienes
> desta mi condición noticia cierta,
> pues piensas enmendalla con desdenes.

Assuring Flora that she is much mistaken if she thinks that he is enslaved by her charms, the satirist determines to paint a picture, first of her, and then of himself, in order that she may realize her error. He hesitates at the thought of incurring her anger, but finally, urged on by another enemy of hers, he launches forth upon his subject. There follows a merciless revelation of all Flora's falseness:

> ¿A quién tu gravedad allí no admira?
> ¿quién no dirá que puedes llevar palma,
> i que a las Onze mil tu intento aspira?
> Quien sepa, como yo, que en essa calma
> suceden por momentos torvellinos
> que anegan las agenas, i tu alma;
> ni lo dirán tampoco tus vecinos,
> que ven salir i entrar en tu posada
> los recién emplumados palominos . . .

The manner in which more is suggested than said is illustrated by the following tercet, which recalls the soldier of the *Casa-*

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[136] Cf. *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 21 and note. No attention will be given here to the tercets beginning *Tuuo cercada largo tiempo en vano*, written in praise of a work entitled *Teórica y práctica de fortificación*, by Cristóbal de Rojas, Madrid, 1598. They may be read in *Bib. de autores españoles*, XLII, p. 290.

[137] *Rimas*, p. 52.

[138] *Obras sueltas*, II, p. 59 ff.

miento engañoso, who in the Hospital de la Resurrección sweat out his *catorce cargas de bubas:*

> Sabrá quien no las sabe, tus virtudes,
> las quales te sustentan todo el año,
> aunque ya vendrá tiempo en que las sudes.

Two pages are given over to an enumeration of the various *afeites* used in Flora's trade (the enumeration is worthy of Celestina), and at the end the poet exclaims:

> ¡Cuán mal se cubre el gato con la cola!
> ¡cuán mal se cubre el fuego sin dar humo!
> assí la que se afeita i arrebola.

Alas if she and her sisters are caught in the early morning, before Art has had time to lend a helping hand to Nature!

> ¡Qué fieras parezéis! ¡qué deshonestas!
> con los ojos inchados, i sobre ellos
> dos negras i tendidas nubes puestas;
> rebueltos en bedijas los cabellos
> como los de las Furias infernales,
> o largos, como colas por los cuellos.

Having completed the picture of Flora, Lupercio recalls his promise to present his own likeness, but, deciding that he cannot paint himself as he really is, he decides to imitate the artist who after having painted Juno and Minerva on Mt. Ida, and not knowing how to present Venus more beautiful than they, painted her *de espaldas:*

> I pues has de llevar retrato mío,
> verás por las espaldas mi retrato:
> que con volverlas, Flora, me desvío
> de tu conversación, favor i trato.

According to Menéndez y Pelayo,[139] "el alma de la pieza es

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[139] *Horacio en España*, II, p. 85.

horaciana," and in the words of the same critic, "de Ovidio está tomado en substancia el pasaje célebre, *Y cuando veas al triste que se ablanda.*"[140] The whole is most ingenious, realistic and effective; and its perusal might well detain in their folly

los que pidieren a sus padres
de su porción devida la sustancia.[141]

Although Lupercio translated one ode of Horace by a sonnet and an epode by a *canción*, he prefers in his translations the *liras*, invented by Bernardo Tasso to reproduce as nearly as possible the harmonious movement of the Horatian lyric metres. The choice of odes to be translated is significant. We have already seen the longing for retirement which led him to translate the *Beatus ille*. Although Lupercio and his brother are often accused of being *nada joviales*, the translation of the *Quis multa gracilis*, of the *Quid fles, Asterie* (III, 7) and of the *Ulla si iuris* (II, 8) indicate an interest in the more jovial manner of the Latin poet, and a large measure of success in transferring it to the Castilian:

Si del haver mentido,
Barina, algún castigo te viniesse:
un diente denegrido,
o una uña más fea yo te viesse,
cuanto huvieras jurado
creyera como firme enamorado.[142]

But we have the best revelation of Lupercio's character and poetic temperament in his choice for translation of the two great odes on the decadence of the Roman Empire, the *Caelo tonantem* (III, 5) and the *Delicta maiorum* (III, 6). It would be difficult to find a closer approximation to the spirit of the great Venusian than in the following translation of Lupercio:

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[140] *Ibid.*, p. 84. Cf. *Rimas*, p. 58, and *Ars amatoria*, Lib. I, 417 ff.
[141] It is possible that Flora may have been a real person.
Ni lo dirá tampoco quien estuvo
de Mantua por tu causa foragido,
i el perdón por dineros después huvo.
[142] *Rimas*, p. 145.

La juventud romana
no fué de tales padres engendrada,
cuando de la africana
gente dexó la mar ensangrentada:
a Antioco venzido,
al grande Pirro, i a Anibal temido.
Mas rústicos soldados,
que el campo con azadas revolvían,
i de leña cargados
(cual sus madres severas lo pedían)
volvían, cuando Apolo
da sombras i descanso a nuestro Polo.
Las bueltas de los cielos
todo lo disminuyen: muy mejores
fueron nuestros abuelos;
que nuestros padres, somos hoy peores:
de nosotros se espera
sucesión que en maldades nos prefiera.[143]

The three poems in *ottava rima* are not especially noteworthy One of them was written on the occasion of Corpus Christi;[144] the other two are laudatory. But the few compositions in the traditional metres possess a real distinction. How could the renunciation of a past love be better expressed than in this *décima?*

Ya de la memoria borro
todas las obligaciones;
porque vuestras sinrazones
me han dado carta de horro:
i tal estoy, que me corro
de que tengáis prendas mías;
mas (por no mover porfías)
en vuestras manos las dexo,
cual la culebra el pellejo
para renovar sus días.[145]

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[143] *Ibid.*, pp. 144–145.
[144] *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 28.
[145] *Rimas*, p. 12.

The *Rimas* represent a decided advance over the tragedies with respect to versification. In the former I have found only two cases of incorrect syllable count, both of which can, I think, be explained.

Que agora quiere tu furia hazer sangriento (p. 82).

should probably be read, with synalepha and syneresis,

Que ahora quiere tu furia hazer sangriento.

The other case referred to is the octosyllable,

Con las olas más inchadas (p. 8),

which has crept into a *canción* in Italian metres:

Con tormenta más fiera,
con *las* olas más inchadas,
luchava mi amoroso pensamiento.

Undoubtedly the article *las* represents an inadvertence of a copyist or compositor. Bad versification is more likely to occur in those poems, not included in the *Rimas*, which have suffered at the hands of transcribers even in modern times;[146] but even here I have found no verses which are absolutely *incurables* (to use the word of E. Benot). In the line,

En tiempo *de* estrago y triste llanto (*Obras sueltas*, I, 29),

we should read *del* for *de*, as the context shows. Similarly, the line,

En hilar y texer un prendero (*Rev. Hisp.* XLVIII, 375),

is obviously

En hilar y texer un prendedero.

The verses,

Que halló en su pecho el tesoro abierto (*Rev. Hisp.* XLVIII, 376).

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[146] Even the Conde de la Viñaza has made an occasional serious error of this sort. Cf. the note of Foulché-Delbosc, *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, p. 379.

and

Con quïen fué común acá mi suerte (Ibid., p. 382).

require, respectively, rather unusual hiatus and dieresis.

There are but two lines in which the accents are incorrectly placed:

A su au*tor* (bien que no le a*man*sa) ad*mi*ra (*Rimas*, p. 110).
O qué escua*dro*nes te descu*brió* el Cielo (Ibid., p. 111).

There is scarcely a hyperbaton:

Las tristes de Faetón bellas hermanas (*Ibid.*, p. 22).
Navegando el del mundo barco humano (*Obras sueltas*, I, 26).

And padding is seldom encountered:[147]

Yo vi, yo vi los ojos (no es mentira) (*Rimas*, p. 30).
I, al fin, de su poder la última prueba (*Ibid.*, p. 31).
I, en suma, cuanto pueden hierro i fuego (*Ibid.*, *p. 83*).

The *acento obstruccionista* was tolerated by the poets of the classical period, and appears with more or less frequency until a very recent date.[148] To Lupercio it apparently did not constitute a defect, for lines such as the following are to be found on practically every page, and are to be considered as characteristic of a period rather than of any individual poet:

Ya los consejos son lo que *más te*mo (*Rimas*, p. 20).
Entonzes da*ré ley* a mi desseo (*Rimas*, p. 82).

Alliteration, occasionally, detracts rather than adds:

Si*n*o algú*n* gra*n* *p*oltró*n* *p*arabola*n*o (*Rimas*, p. 42).

The following line is marred by interior assonance:

I a no saber por fe que h*u*vo Dil*u*bio (*Rimas*, p. 48).

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[147] The phrases *por consiguiente*, *los cuales*, *según creo*, etc., which appear so frequently in the tragedies, have been largely eliminated.

[148] E. g., in Bécquer. E. Benot has a formidable list of examples, beginning with Garcilaso, in his *Prosodia castellana y versificación*, Madrid, n. d., Vol. III.

But these examples sink into relative insignificance beside the merits of the *Rimas*. One has only to read the satire against the *Marquesilla* to become aware of the skill with which Lupercio handled the *terza rima*, a poetic form already preferred by him in the tragedies, and which he and his brother, together with Quevedo and the author of the *Epístola moral a Fabio*, brought to its perfection.[149] The translations from Horace are, according to seventeenth-century standards, flawless,[150] and show Lupercio as a master of the *lira*. Most of the canciones reveal an equal mastery, and the octosyllables possess frequently a *gallardía* worthy of a Castillejo. Imperfections are most likely to occur in the sonnets, in spite of the large number which are perfect.

The rhymes never constitute a difficulty; there is not that repetition so noticeable in the dramatic works, and it is no longer common to find the same word repeated with different meaning.[151] Only on rare occasions is a concession made: the poet writes *robre* to rhyme with *cobre* and *pobre* (*Rimas*, p.59), while *amicicia*, a Latinism condemned by the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, stands with *justicia* and *codicia* (*Ibid.*, p. 61). In the sonnet, *Sin duda que esta red de hierro dura* (*Ibid.*, p. 24), there is a real blunder: the rhyme words of the tercets are *contiende, fieros, semejantes; enciende, desseos, amantes.*[152]

A study of the rhyming syllables shows the confusion of the Old Spanish sibilants which we should expect for the period,[153] and synalepha is common before an *h* of any origin.[154] In the use of the latter, as in that of hiatus, diaresis and syneresis, Lupercio does not depart from the practice then in vogue.

The inspiration of the Argensolas is both classical and Petrar-

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[149] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. XIII, p. 237.

[150] Occasionally there are *acentos obstruccionistas: Huye la curial plaza.*

[151] *Ara* (v), *ara* (n.); *presa* (adj.), *presa* (n.); *alcanze* (v.), *alcanze* (n.); *toca* (*n.*), *toca* (*v.*). I have found no other examples.

[152] The sonnet *La piel en que, con sangre de el Cerbero* (*Rev. Hisp.* XLVIII, 375), as printed, shows a similar error; but the meaning requires that we read *clava* for *clave*. The thirteenth line is entirely lacking.

[153] *Pesa* (v), *promesa, priesa.* In the *Rimas* ç has yielded to *z* (*venzido*), and is used only occasionally (*çampoña*, p. 133). Saragossa is given on the title page as *Zaragoza*. It was also written *Çaragoça* and *Çaragoza*.

[154] *Las armas desdeñosas con que hería* (*Rimas*, p. 71).

chistic. It is impossible to agree with Menéndez y Pelayo when he says of Bartolomé Leonardo, "aborrece de muerte la sutileza y el metafisiqueo de los petrarquistas,"[155] or with the Conde de la Viñaza when he applies almost the same words to both brothers.[156] The fact remains that Bartolomé translated "subtleties" direct from the *Canzoniere* (Sonnets XIX and CIX) and that many of the love poems of Lupercio might well be, as far as their content and imagery are concerned, taken from almost any one of the later Petrarchistic poets. Equally inexact is Menéndez y Pelayo's declaration, made in regard to Bartolomé only, but corresponding to the opinion commonly held of both brothers: "Enójale todo uso frívolo y baladí de la poesía; no la concibe más que como matrona celtíbera, armada de hierro y con la ley moral en los labios."[157] It is a conclusion readily drawn from those passages in which the Argensolas give voice to their conception of poetry, but it does no correspond altogether with their practice. It is relatively true if they are compared to a Garcilaso or an Herrera, but one has only to read, among the sonnets quoted in this chapter, the one on the blush of Filis, or *Tajo produzidor del gran tesoro,*[158] among those of Bartolomé, to be convinced that it is not the whole truth.[159] Side by side with the tendency to elevate reason above fancy,[160] to prefer the general and abstract to the concrete and picturesque, we must recognize the truly poetic qualities which give distinction to their work.[161]

This said, it is possible to make a general statement: the two Argensolas have, as points in common, a classicism which is pure, unpedantic, original; a Petrarchism which is no less their own; and an intellectualism which is not at all incompatible

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[155] *Hist. de las ideas estéticas en España*, Madrid, Vol. III, 1896, p. 388.
[156] *Algunas obras satíricas de L. y B. L. de A.*, Saragossa, 1887, p. 8.
[157] *Loc. cit.*
[158] *Rimas*, p. 189.
[159] The Duque de Villahermosa has done full justice to this lighter side of the two brothers. See *Obras*, op. cit., pp. 26, 29, 50, 51. He is closely followed by the Conde de la Viñaza, *Algunas obras satíricas.*
[160] Duque de Villahermosa, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[161] "Los Argensolas discurren siempre, y se proponen a la continua enseñar; pero discurren y enseñan de un modo poético. Hay en ellos una inspiración que podemos llamar *reflexiva;* pero que es inspiración verdadera." *Op cit.*, p. 26.

with a really poetic spirit. And with this let us turn to a detailed consideration of the poetry of Lupercio.

He is a poet with a message; he would raise his contemporaries to his own high standards of personal integrity and devotion to the Christian faith. To this extent, *i.e.*, in the satires and moral epistles, his work is personal. There are other occasions when the inmost feelings of the poet's heart find expression in his verses: in the *canción*, *Aquellos dos cristales transparentes;*[162] in a few of the religious sonnets, and in the following, which expresses a longing for fame voiced also in other places:

No temo los peligros del mar fiero,
ni de un Scita la odiosa servidumbre,
pues alivia los hierros la costumbre,
i al remo grave puede hazer ligero.
Ni oponer este pecho por terrero
de flechas a la inmensa muchedumbre:
ni embuelta en humo la dudosa lumbre
ver, i esperar el plomo venidero.
Mal que tiene la muerte por extremo
no le deve temer un desdichado,
mas antes escogerle por partido.
La sombra sola del olvido temo,
porque es como no ser un olvidado,
i no hay mal que se iguale al no haver sido.[163]

But in general the note of passion is lacking. There is nothing in his love poems that can compare to Garcilaso's lament over Elisa.[164] It is not characteristic of Lupercio to lay bare his heart and we know him less by what he said than by what he did and stood for.

His style, on the other hand, is personal. He chose Horace as his model because he found in Horatianism the perfect vehicle for the expression of his thought and ideals—ideals which are

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[162] *Rimas*, p. 77.
[163] *Rimas*, p. 16.
[164] The most impassioned words written by either Argensola are to be found in a letter (Viñaza, *Discurso*, Appendix 190, letter 11) written by Bartolomé to Llorente on hearing of the death of his friend, Maestro Franco.

always nobly Christian, never Epicurean; and so, while his satire is tempered like that of the *sermones*, the tempering agency is not an amused indifference, but a faith in the goodness of the Universe, in the destiny of man. His language is at all times pure and straightforward, the *Rimas* constituting in this respect a model of almost absolute perfection.[165] It is sober, concise, classically correct, and depends for its effectiveness upon the fitness of the epithet rather than upon the use of striking figures or rhetorical devices. Of the latter chiasmus is the most frequent: *Tanto fué el miedo y la ambición fué tanta.*[166] Simile, while sparingly used, is especially successful in the comparison of the invasion of Spain under Tarik to the floods of the Nile.[167] The sonnet, *Jamás salidos en el Mar de Oriente*,[169] is metaphorical throughout. Humor, dry but none the less real, is frequently encountered, tempering the harshness of the satirist's reproof. Decrying drunkenness, he says:

> ¡Qué cosa es ver al uno colorado,
> que a cada paso los accentos yerra,
> estar en las disputas porfiado:
> i hazer varios discursos para guerra,
> i governar mil flotas quien no ha visto
> agua jamás, ni entonzes ve la tierra![169]

Again, speaking of balking mules, he exclaims:

> Dios guarde a los católicos christianos,
> por su misericordia, deste tranze,
> o les temple la cólera, i las manos.[170]

And there are clever plays on words:

> Hay mula que es mejor ir con muleta. (*Rimas*, p. 45)

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[165] Duque de Villahermosa, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Lupercio, who died at Naples in 1613, could scarcely have become contaminated by the change of taste which began in 1609.
[166] *Rimas*, p. 92.
[167] *Cuando en la sed del implacable estío*, *Rimas*, p. 87.
[168] *Rimas*, p. 25.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[170] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

> Si piensa que el ser Noble, i Cavallero,
> consiste en más que Dones, i cavallos,
> i en no tener escudos, Escudero. (*Rimas*, p. 74)

Undoubtedly the chief fault of the Argensolas as satirists is their diffuseness, the frequent failure to send the shaft swiftly and directly to its mark. But the gift of powerful expression was certainly not lacking to either. Lupercio says of the *Marquesilla:*

> I no digo con esto que eres vieja:
> mas téngote por ropa tan traída
> que descubres la hilaza por la ceja (*Rimas*, p. 61).

Another defect is a repetition of certain phrases, which would probably have been eliminated if the *Rimas* had been published under the poet's own supervision.[171] Strangely enough, the line *con las proas ferradas* is found twice in the same *canción*, pages 7 and 9 of the *Rimas*. Lupercio is less open than his brother to the charge of excessive seriousness of tone.

At the end of this study I find little to change in the opinion which has been held of Lupercio and his brother since Lope de Vega bestowed upon them the title of *los Horacios de España*. They were more than that, as has been seen, but their essential character is expressed in the words of the *Monstruo de la naturaleza*. While fray Luis de León surpassed them in rendering into Castilian the spirit of the *carmina*, the Horace of the *sermones* has found in Spain no better interpreter than they, and to them and to the author of the famous *Epístola moral* belongs the honor of having re-created, in a way equalled by no other Spaniard, the genial satire of the poet of Venusia. They have always been regarded with the utmost respect by Spanish men of letters. Their impression upon their contemporaries was great. *Elogios* were lavished upon them, and their verses were copied to a surprising extent into the anthologies preserved in manuscript in

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[171] Está sobre los cuernos de la luna (*Rimas*, p. 129); Encima de los cuernos de la luna (*Ibid.*, p. 54); Porque estaba en los cuernos de la luna, *Obras sueltas*, I, p. 174 (*Alejandra*). I have collected examples for five other phrases.

the Biblioteca Nacional. Bartolomé, who outlived Lupercio by nearly twenty years, and who displayed a greater intellectuality, was the founder and "legislator" of the so-called Aragonese School of lyric poetry.[172] Neither brother is to be classed as a poet of the first order, but together they occupy a place of honor in the rank which stands immediately behind the great masters.

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[173] "Lo que en castellano se parece más a la *Poética* de Boileau son dos epístolas de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (*Yo quiero, mi Fernando, obedecerte* and *Don Juan, ya se me ha puesto en el cerbelo*), legislador severísimo de la escuela aragonesa, distinguida entre todas las escuelas peninsulares por la madurez y reposo del juicio, mucho más que por la brillantez ni por la lozanía." Menéndez y Pelayo, *Hist. de las ideas estéticas*, III, pp. 386–387.

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